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OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

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MYCENAE: THE KALKANI HILL FROM THE NORTH

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CHAMBER TOMBS AT MYCENAE

BY

A. J. B. WACE, M.A., Hon.Litt.D. (Amsterdam), F.S.A.

DIRECTOR OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS 1914–1923.
MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY; FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LETTERS OF LUND.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS forms the thirteenth and concluding section of the definite account of the excavations which were carried out by me at Mycenae from 1920 to 1923 for the British School at Athens. The preceding twelve sections have been published in vols. xxiv and xxv of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*. The Managing Committee of the School were unfortunately unable to publish this section in the same form as the others and arranged with the Society of Antiquaries to give it the hospitality of *Archaeologia*. Even so it would have been impossible to provide all the plans and illustrations necessary but for the generosity of Miss M. B. Wright of Washington, who has borne the entire cost of the plates and text-blocks. Her generous support alone has made it possible to issue this final section in suitable form.

Dr. C. A. Boethius, Mr. W. A. Heurtley, Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, Miss Winifred Lamb, and Miss H. L. Lorimer all assisted in the excavation of these tombs and their notes have been used in the appropriate places. The plans and drawings from which the illustrations have been prepared are water-colour and line drawings by Monsieur E. Gilliéron *fils*, Mr. P. de Jong, and Professor Droop. In preparing the whole for the press and in correcting the proofs my wife's constant help has been invaluable. Dr. Boethius has also read the proofs. The Commentary owes much to the kindness of Professor C. W. Blegen, who has discussed many points with me.

Of this section the first two parts were only just completed in rough manuscript before my departure from Greece in October 1923. The third part has been written in London, in the few free intervals allowed by my daily work, without reference to the original finds and without the assistance of an adequate archaeological library. Moreover it has been impossible either to revise the manuscript or to correct the proofs on the spot before the actual finds in the Athens and Nauplia Museums, or to verify and re-examine certain details in the tombs themselves. The reader therefore is asked to forgive in advance the various errors and inconsistencies which are bound to be discovered, as they are due mainly to circumstances over which the author had no control.

Parts I and II give full descriptions of the tombs as excavated and catalogues of the pottery and of the miscellaneous objects found in them. The notes on various topics and objects given in these two parts are supplemented by fuller discussions in Part III. The Commentary in this third part deals successively with the types of the tombs and with the methods of burial, and then with each class or group of objects in turn. The reader is therefore

reminded that, even where specific references are not inserted, most questions of importance mentioned in the descriptions will usually be found more fully discussed in the appropriate places in the Commentary below.

The following table gives in convenient form the synchronisms between the main phases of the Late Bronze Age in Crete and on the Mainland.

Crete.	*Mainland.*	*Approximate Dates.*
Late Minoan I *a*	Late Helladic I	1600-1500 B.C.
Late Minoan I *b*[1] / Late Minoan II	Late Helladic II	1500-1400 B.C.
Late Minoan III	Late Helladic III	1400-1100 B.C.

[1] Evans's new subdivision Late Minoan I *c* is contemporary with Late Minoan II.

PART I

THE THIRD KILOMETRE CEMETERY

In 1899 during his excavations Tsountas[1] found three rock-cut chamber tombs (Tomb 102, the Fig Tree Tomb, and another, fig. 1) on the west side of the carriage road just to the south of the Treasury of Atreus. In 1904 Bosanquet published the goldwork and other small objects from Tomb 102, together with one of the vases.[2] It is to be hoped that Tsountas will soon be able to publish the rest of the pottery of that tomb and the contents of the others. In 1921 we made trial trenches on the slopes on both sides of the road, and found three similar rock-cut chamber tombs, the positions of which are shown on the accompanying sketch plan, fig. 1. As these tombs lie on either side of the third kilometre stone of the road, we have for the sake of convenience called this the Third Kilometre Cemetery to distinguish it from the other groups of tombs that surround Mycenae.[3] Tombs 502 and 504 were both excavated in 1921; Tomb 505 was begun in 1921 but, owing to difficulties caused by the dangerous state of the doorway, the chamber was not completely cleared till 1922.

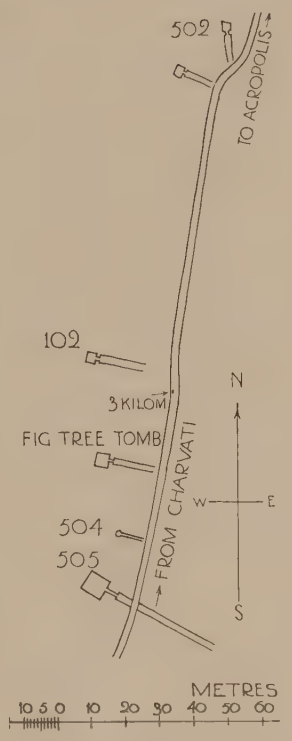

Fig. 1. Third Kilometre Cemetery, Sketch Plan (Scale 1 : 2000).

Tomb 502 (fig. 2).

The dromos or entrance passage which faces south-east is 8·45 m. long, increases in height from 0·55 m. to 3·45 m., and gradually widens from 0·70 m. to 1·40 m. Its entrance was

[1] As Tsountas previously had excavated a large number (about two hundred) of tombs at Mycenae, we decided to number those found in the course of our excavations from 501 upwards. We excavated in all thirty-three tombs, which were numbered in the order of discovery. Of those which fall within the Bronze Age, 502, 504, and 505 belong to the Third Kilometre Cemetery; 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, and 531 belong to the North Bank of the Kalkani Cemetery; and 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, and 533 to the South Bank of the same cemetery. The other numbers were given to Hellenistic (507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512) or other late tombs of uncertain date (501, 503, 506) which have all been briefly discussed in *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 421.

[2] *J. H. S.*, 1904, pp. 322 ff. His statement that it lies between the Tomb of Clytemnestra and the Treasury of Atreus is inaccurate. Mackenzie published another vase, *J. H. S.*, 1903, p. 192.

[3] Cf. Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pp. 120 ff.

blocked by a single large stone. The floor gradually slopes downwards to the doorway of the tomb. The dromos is regularly cut, and in section wedge-shaped (pl. x). The left-hand side of the door had in Late Helladic times been

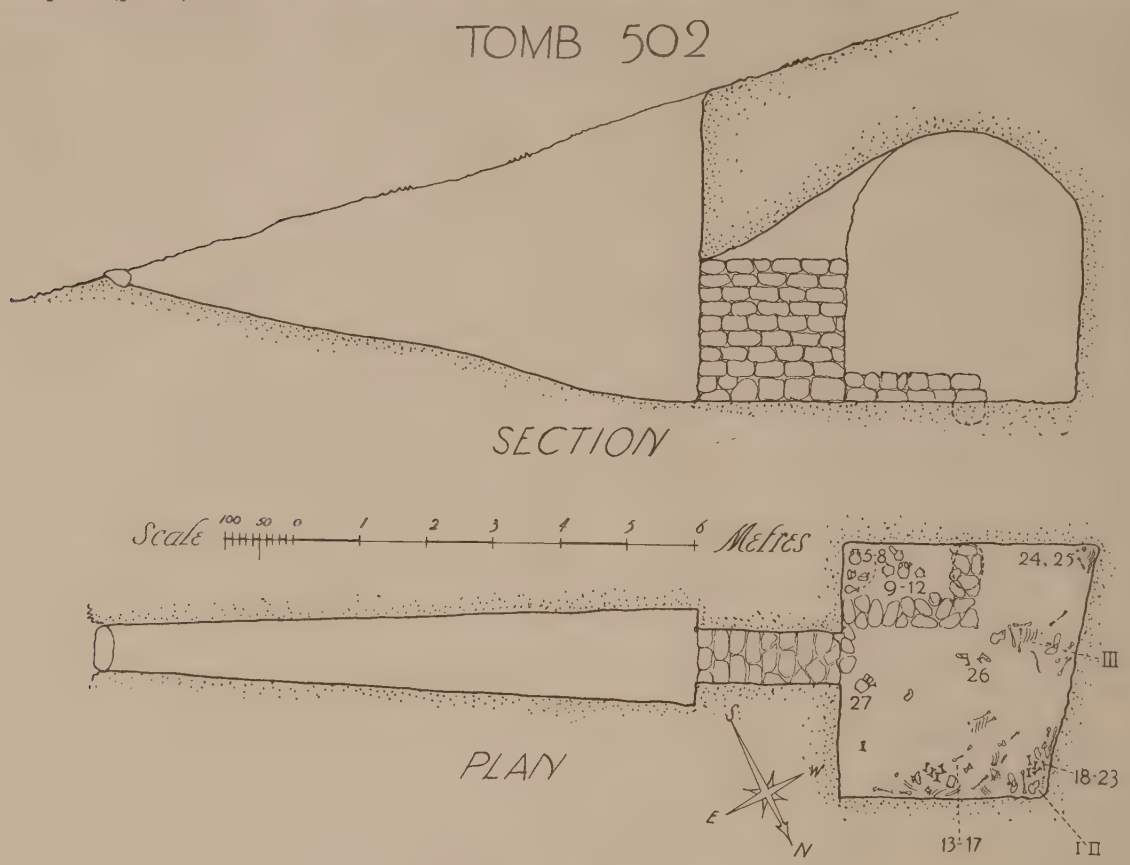

Fig. 2. Tomb 502, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

repaired at about half its height with small stones, packed with the usual tough yellow clay. The rock in which the chamber is cut is rather soft, and the top of the door and the front part of the vault had partially collapsed. The dromos was full of earth and stones, and the chamber of decomposed soft rock.

In the dromos a good deal of broken pottery (all Late Helladic III) was found, but no joins were made between it and that from the tomb. No complete vases were found, though two unpainted kylikes (1, 2)[1] are almost complete.

Among the sherds those of unpainted kylikes were very common, those of painted kylikes rare. Other shapes recognizable are deep bowls, pyxides, three-

[1] The numbers in parentheses in the descriptions of the tombs are those of the objects in the catalogues of finds at the end of the descriptions of the tombs.

handled amphorae (cf. pl. XII, 13), and feeding bottles (cf. pl. XII, 14). The patterns are those of the ordinary well-developed L.H. III style, and similar to, but slightly later than, those from the earlier strata by the LionGate, and from the dromos of Tomb 505. Network designs, chevrons, wavy lines, lilies, the murex, and other well-known devices of the L.H. III repertory occur. An odd sherd belonged apparently to the shoulder of a jar like a three-handled amphora, but with a slightly projecting spout. We have not found any complete example of this type at Mycenae. Miscellaneous finds include two fragmentary terra-cotta figurines (3) and a spindle whorl (4).

The door of the chamber is 2·10 m. high and 0·78 m. to 0·80 m. wide, and rounded at the top. It is 2·00 m. deep, and was completely filled up for its entire height and depth with a roughly packed stone wall (pl. X). On clearing the fallen rock and earth out of the chamber, we found a layer of soft blackish earth about 0·50 m. deep all over the rock floor, and in this lay the remains of many skeletons and several vases (13–26), only one of which (14) was unbroken. Of these, five vases (13–17) were found whole or in pieces along the north-east side. In the north corner were the fragments of six vases (18–23), in the west corner the pieces of two more (24, 25), and in the centre near skeleton III a kylix (26).

In the southern angle is a small rectangular enclosure made by a low rubble wall about 0·50 m. wide and 0·40 m. to 0·50 m. high. This enclosure contained eight vases (5–12).

Four of these vases (5–8) were found against the south-west wall of the tomb, and the other four (9–12) about the middle of the rectangular enclosure, see plan (fig. 2).

Under the west end of the rubble wall against the rock wall of the tomb was a small pit cut in the floor, 0·30 m. to 0·40 m. deep and 0·60 m. wide, which contained nothing.

That these vases, which were unaccompanied by any bones, were found whole, whereas the other vases in the tomb with one exception were all broken, seems to indicate that they belonged to the last interment in the tomb, skeleton no. III, which lay only slightly disturbed about the middle of the north-west wall. Along the north-east wall of the tomb we found scattered piles of bones mixed with fragments of vases. They were thickest in the northern corner, and about the middle of the north-east wall. There was another similar, but much smaller, heap of bones and vase fragments in the west corner. It appears that as each new interment was made in this tomb, the remains of the immediately preceding one were swept roughly aside against the north-east wall. Finally, with the last interment, no. III, the funeral offerings were placed in a specially constructed enclosure in the southern angle, while the body itself was laid out

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 31, 51, pl. X*f*.

in the middle of the tomb towards the back. Curiously enough, only two skulls were found among the other bones, both, nos. I and II, being in the northern corner, but there seem to have been more than enough bones to provide two complete skeletons for these skulls. The exact number of interments must, however, remain uncertain till it is possible for the bones to be examined by an anthropologist.

Finally, just within the doorway among some fallen stones on the floor, was a stirrup-vase (27), and near it a fragment (27 *a*) of what may be a larnax.

The stratification of this tomb seems clear. The earliest interments were brushed to the north-east side and west corner, and the eight complete vases found in the enclosure are those of the last interment. These belong to the Granary Class which is best illustrated by the finds from the East Basement and elsewhere in the Granary and from Strata IX, X, XI by the Lion Gate.[1] According to the stratification the Granary class of L.H. III ware was in use just before and just after the fall of Mycenae, when the citadel may have been reoccupied for a brief period. The evidence of this tomb, where the finding of some broken vases of the Granary Class in the north corner shows that there was more than one interment during this period, supplements that of the Granary and of the Lion Gate most usefully. If a Mycenaean family could continue to use the same tomb down to, and perhaps just after, the fall of Mycenae, there could hardly have been a violent change of population. This tomb is of the ordinary L.H. III type,[2] as will be seen from the Kalkani Cemetery, and the burials in it were inhumation and not cremation interments, thus indicating a continuity of burial customs. Further, the complete absence of any proto-Geometric or Geometric pottery or any other Iron Age wares in both dromos and chamber shows that it belongs entirely to the Late Helladic period. This emphasizes the importance of the Granary Class as a link in the evolution of Late Helladic into Geometric ware. These facts are valuable in considering the downfall of the Mycenaean civilization, which cannot be placed earlier than the later twelfth century B.C. The broken vases from the earlier interments swept to the side are not of the earlier L.H. III style like those from the deposit below the Ramp House,[3] but somewhat later in date. This tomb then was probably cut out and first used towards the end of the fourteenth century, and continued in use till the end of the twelfth century, soon after the fall of Mycenae.

[1] *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 29 ff.; see also below, pp. 184 ff.
[2] See below, pp. 124, 126.
[3] See below, p. 18. Compare Hutchinson, *Liverpool Annals*, XIX, pp. 117 ff.

Finds

I. *From the Dromos.*

A. *Pottery.*

1. Kylix: h. 0·19 m.; stem restored; one high swung handle; unpainted; similar to no. 24 from chamber, pl. xii. L.H. III.

2. Kylix: h. 0·105 m.; much broken and handle missing; unpainted; in shape like no. 15 from the chamber, pl. xii. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

3. Terra-cotta figurines, female, two fragments; one (*a*) with arms folded across chest, the other (*b*) with crescent arms. L.H. III.

4. Spindle whorl, steatite, shanked, button type: h. 0·017 m., d. 0·028 m.; well made; pale green. L.H. III.

II. *From the Enclosure in the Chamber.*

Pottery.

5. Two-handled amphora, pl. xii: h. 0·23 m.; pale yellow-grey clay; ornamented with black bands and a horizontal S on the shoulder; pendent leaves hang from the black bands below each handle. Pendent leaves occur on the vases of similar style from the Lion Gate and the East Basement of the Granary at Mycenae;[1] and also on the interesting group of large late stirrup-vases found by Blegen in the L.H. III pottery store at Zygouries.[2] The S-pattern occurs on the jugs from the Lion Gate.[3] L.H. III.

6. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. xi: h. 0·075 m.; covered with thin washy black-brown paint; in fabric closely resembles no. 9. L.H. III.

7. Askos, ring-shaped, pl. xi: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·085 m.; vertical spout and bridge handle; on top of ring is a pattern of dashes above a broad band of colour which does not reach to bottom of vase;[4] clay yellow-buff; thin washy black-brown paint. L.H. III.

8. Askos, ring-shaped, pl. xi: h. 0·055 m., d. 0·07 m.; clay and paint similar to those on no. 7. Pattern consists of an irregular row of concentric semicircles set above a broad band which does not reach to bottom of vase, a characteristic of the Granary Class.[5] L.H. III.

9. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. xi: h. 0·10 m.; high swung handle; pale buff clay and covered with thin washy black-brown paint which does not reach to bottom of vase. L.H. III.

10. Stirrup-vase, pl. xi: h. 0·12 m.; pale buff clay decorated with black paint. The body instead of being ornamented with fine lines alternating with broader bands is painted with two very broad bands between which run two thin lines. Above uppermost line is a zigzag line; lower black band stops well short of bottom of vase. On shoulder are carelessly drawn concentric semicircles surrounded by a line of dots. Spout and

[1] *B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 31, 51, pl. x*f*.
[2] Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 149, 150, figs. 139, 140.
[3] *B. S. A.*, xxv, pl. vi *b*, p. 32, fig. 8 *b*.
[4] Cf. *ibid.*, xxv, pp. 30 ff., pp. 40 ff.
[5] Cf. *B.S.A.*, xxv, pp. 30 ff., pp. 40 ff.; see also below, p. 187.

handle are high, and body has lost the globular shape typical of earlier stirrup-vases such as those of Tell-el-Amarna style. L.H. III.

11. Jar, pl. XI: h. 0·155 m.; two horizontal loop handles; painted in red on a red buff biscuit. Round middle of body runs a wavy line between handles, with plain bands above and below. This pattern is typical of late deep bowls found above the Granary.[1] L.H. III.

12. Jar, pl. XI: h. 0·09 m.; two horizontal loop handles; pale brown clay painted with rather thin brown-black colour. A wavy line runs between handles. Except that it is much harder baked than rest of group, this jar is similar in style to preceding. L.H. III.

III. *From the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

13. Three-handled amphora, pl. XII: h. 0·30 m.; neck and base are covered with solid belts of rich red-brown paint; there are broad bands on the middle of body and at the base of neck; between these and the handles three panel-like spaces are formed, each containing two pothooks and a diamond. L.H. III.

14. Feeding bottle, pl. XII: h. 0·105 m.; covered all over with red-brown paint; basket handle spanning neck; unbroken; as this is of far better fabric than the eight vases from enclosure in southern angle, it must belong to one of the earlier interments. L.H. III.

15. Kylix, pl. XII: h. 0·09 m.; unpainted; one handle, sharp metallic profile. L.H. III.

16. Kylix: h. 0·11 m.; unpainted; handle missing; similar to no. 15. L.H. III.

17. Kylix: h. 0·21 m.; base and part of one handle missing; well rounded body and two high swung handles standing well above rim; unpainted, but shows a good deal of incrustation, which might possibly be remains of silver paint, as on Tomb 515, nos. 48, 49, 51, 52.[2] L.H. III.

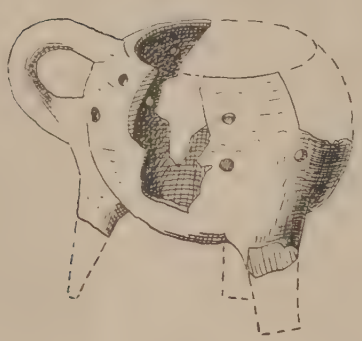

Fig. 3. Tomb 502, Incense Burner, no. 18 (Scale 1:2). L.H. III.

18, 19. Incense burners, fig. 3: h. 0·10 m.; neither complete, lids missing. Like those from Tomb 532, nos. 10, 11, pl. LIV, each had three legs, a small vertical loop handle just below rim and the body perforated with small holes. L.H. III.

20. Shallow cup: h. 0·035 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; vertical loop handle, missing. L.H. III.

21. Shallow cup, with horizontal loop handle on rim; handle and part of rim only; decorated with plain bands of reddish colour, in style similar to bowls from East Basement of Granary, and to one from Stratum X by Lion Gate.[3] L.H. III.

22. Jug, small, fragments only: in size, style, and shape like no. 9. L.H. III.

23. Deep bowl, fragments only: h. approx. 0·09 m.; covered with poor black glaze paint inside and outside, except lower part of body; belongs to Granary Class, and

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 49, fig. 12*b*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 33, fig. 9*b*.

[2] See below, pp. 60, 182.

[3] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pls. X*a*; XI*k*; p. 33, fig. 9*c*.

similar to two examples found in Stratum X by Lion Gate,[1] and akin to deep bowls from East Basement of Granary.[2] L.H. III.

24. Kylix, pl. XII: h. 0·22 m.; unpainted; one high swung handle standing well above rim. L.H. III.

25. Kylix: h. 0·22 m.; unpainted; one high swung handle. L.H. III.

26. Kylix, pl. XII: h. 0·21 m.; unpainted; two high swung handles. L.H. III.

27. Stirrup-vase, pl. XI: h. 0·10 m.; decorated with alternating broad and narrow lines round body; on shoulder five sets of irregular chevrons; paint dull brown; shape globular, and handle and spout low. In style it is post Tell-el-Amarna, but earlier than stirrup-vase no. 10 found in enclosure in south-west corner. L.H. III.

27 *a*. Part of base and side of a large coarse terra-cotta vessel, possibly part of a larnax, fig. 4. If part of a larnax (clay coffin), it is the second of the three found in Late Helladic chamber tombs,[3] though in Crete larnakes are common, especially in L.M. III.[4] This is yet another point of difference between Crete and the Mainland. It is noticeable that this fragment occurs in a tomb where the latest pottery was of the Granary Class. In the Lion Gate section (Stratum XI), pottery of that class was associated with a bath which was probably used as a coffin.[5] This confirms the suggestion above that the latest interments in Tomb 502 are contemporary with the Granary Class and so with the fall of Mycenae. L.H. III.

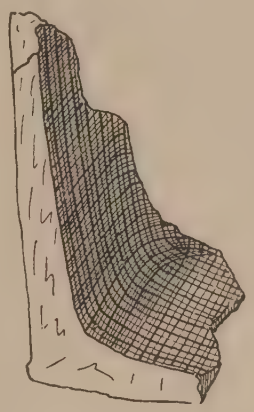

Fig. 4. Tomb 502, Larnax Fragment, no. 27 *a* (Scale 1:3). L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*[6]

28. Gold disc, pl. XIII: d. 0·012 m.; embossed rosette.

29. Beads of faience *a-e*, and of glass *f-j*, *l*, *m*, and necklace ornaments of glass *k*, pl. XIII.

a. Amygdaloid, one: l. approx. 0·02 m.; broken; dark grey; broad central band.

b. Amygdaloid, twenty-two: l. 0·017 m.; similar material; ribbed central band.

c. Amygdaloid, two: l. 0·02 m.; similar material; plain central band.

d. Amygdaloid, one: l. 0·012 m.; same material; ribbed central band.

e. Amygdaloid, one: l. 0·017 m.; similar to *b*, but greenish-white.

f. Spherical with flattened ends, one: d. 0·018 m.; broken; greenish-white.

[1] *Ibid.*, XXV, p. 33, fig. 9 *e*, *f*. [2] *Ibid.*, XXV, pls. X *b*, XI *m*.

[3] The first was found in Tomb 3 at Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., p. 92, fig. 66. A third, a painted example, has since been found containing a child's bones in Tomb 17 at the Argive Heraion, so Professor Blegen kindly informs me. See p. 184, below.

[4] Cf. e.g. Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 6 ff.; larnakes have a long history, and go back to E.M., cf. Seager, *Pachyammos*, pp. 9–13, pl. XII; Xanthoudides, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., IV, pp. 140 ff., figs. 3, 4.

[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 36, pl. VI *c*.

[6] These are all L.H. III in date. A discussion of the more important items will be found below, pp. 195, 206 f., 208, 218 f., 221.

g. Oval, one : l. 0·007 m. : dark-grey ; ribbed vertically.
h. Spheroid, three : d. 0·05 m.–0·07 m. ; same material as *g*.
i. Round and flat like washers, four : d. 0·05 m. ; material similar to *g*.
j. Oval, four : d. 0·05 m.–0·07 m. ; one broken ; material similar to *g*.
k. Necklace ornaments, six : h. 0·008 m. ; dark-grey ; showing simple curls hanging from short ribbed bars which are perforated for threading. Gold ornaments of this type are not unusual in Late Helladic tombs,[1] and other examples in glass and paste are not rare.
l. Tubular, one : l. 0·01 m. ; material similar to *k*.
m. Lentoid, two : d. 0·008 m. ; material similar to *k*.

30. Amethyst bead, spherical, pl. XIII : d. 0·01 m. ; polished.

31. Spindle whorls, steatite, two, pl. XIII : *a*, conical, one : h. 0·013 m. ; *b*, shanked or button type, one : h. 0·007 m. ; both pale greenish-yellow. L.H. III.

32. Spindle whorl, steatite, conical : d. 0·02 m., h. 0·019 m. ; dark green ; found under wall in south angle. L.H. III.

Tomb 504 (fig. 5).

This lies a little distance south of Tomb 502, and not far south of the third kilo-

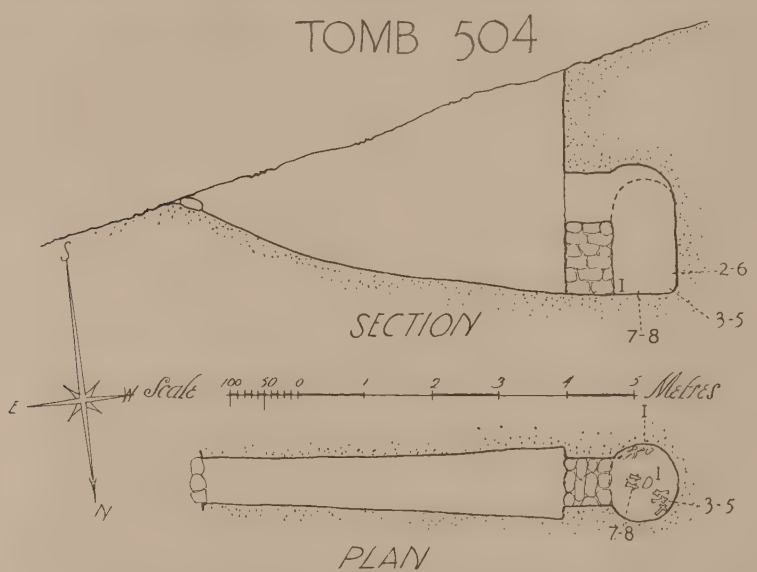

Fig. 5. Tomb 504, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

metre stone. The tomb is very small, though not so small as Tomb 528. It faces east, and is approached by a dromos which is 5·50 m. long and 0·70 m. to 1·10 m. wide, is wedge-shaped in section, and has its entrance closed by three stones.

[1] See below, p 221.

The doorway (pl. XIV), which was walled by packed stones, is 0·70 m. deep, 0·70 m. wide, and was originally 1·06 m. high, but on the removal of the walling the rock immediately above fell away, as it was soft and rotten. The chamber is extremely small and roughly circular in shape, about 1·00 m. in diameter, and 1·70 m. high in its present state. It is barely large enough to contain a full grown man sitting down, and was full of earth when found. In it we found the remains of one skeleton, no. 1, the bones of which lay in no order. Part of the skull was in the centre of the chamber, part with other bones against the south wall, and the leg bones were in the south-east corner. The tomb seemed to have been disturbed in spite of the stone walling in the door, for one complete and one headless terra-cotta figurine were found about 0·50 m. above the floor at the centre of the back wall, while the head of the broken figurine and five more were found on the same level as the bones, two in the centre near the skull, and three with the head in the north-west corner. The tomb, from its plan and shape as well as from its contents, obviously dates from the L.H. III period.

Finds

Miscellaneous Objects.

1. Sealstone, carnelian, amygdaloid, fig. 6 : l. 0·022 m.; it is of curious shape, and is very thick, with a flattened central rib along the back. On the obverse is a bull-baiting

Fig. 6. Tomb 504, Carnelian Sealstone, no. 1 (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. III.

scene; a man apparently naked has one hand on the rump of a bull and the other on the horns, and is preparing to vault over it; above his head, from which long hair hangs, an 'impaled triangle' appears.[1] L.H. III.

2. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XV : h. 0·10 m.; crescent arms; wears polos; hair indicated by paint; hollow stem; red paint on pink biscuit. L.H. III.

3. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XV : h. 0·10 m.; arms folded across chest; wears polos; hair indicated plastically; red paint on pink biscuit. L.H. III.

4. Terra-cotta figurine, pl. XV : h. 0·09 m.; similar to no. 3. L.H. III.

5. Terra-cotta figurine, pl. XV : h. 0·075 m.; poor condition; dark brown on buff biscuit; similar to no. 3. L.H. III.

6. Terra-cotta figurine, pl. XV: h. 0·08 m.; bad condition; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.

7. Terra-cotta figurine, pl. XV : h. 0·08 m.; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.

8. Terra-cotta figurine, pl. XV : h. 0·08 m.; good condition; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.

[1] See below, p. 203.

Tomb 505 (fig. 7).

Immediately to the south of Tomb 504 we found another, the largest chamber tomb found by us at Mycenae, and equal to the largest found by Tsountas on the west side of the Makry Lithari ridge. The entrance faces east, and is approached by a dromos 35·00 m. long and varying from 2·30 m. to 2·00 m. in width. It is wedge-shaped in section, but as it runs under the modern high road (pl. xv), we were unable to dig out the whole. There is a soft vein in the rock which begins on the south side of the dromos, immediately to the east of the carriage road, and reappears on the north side to the west of the carriage road, where it has been responsible for the collapse of the upper part of the dromos wall. When we began to clear the dromos we found that a large mass of rock from the upper part of the north wall, which had been undermined by this soft vein, had fallen right across the dromos directly to the west of the carriage road. The soft vein is also visible inside the chamber by the north jamb of the entrance and in the north-east corner, where it seems to have caused a very heavy fall of rock from the sides and roof, which had almost entirely blocked the chamber. On the floor of the dromos on either side of the carriage road a pile of limestone slabs is to be seen, about 1·00 m. high. These stones have clearly been intentionally introduced into the dromos, but for what object is unknown. Possible explanations are suggested below. The floor of the dromos just before the door is 9·50 m. below the level of the surface of the hillside. The doorway is 3·40 m. high, 3·40 m. deep, and 1·20 m. wide. The south jamb had been repaired with stones set in tough yellow clay for a height of 0·35 m. It was not closed except by a low walling of limestone slabs packed with yellow clay, which was only 0·50 m. high and not over 1·00 m. thick. The chamber measures 5·50 m. by 6·50 m. and was about 6·50 m. to 7.00 m. high. Along the north wall is a rock-cut bench about 1·00 m. wide and 0·40 m. high, in front of which in the north-east angle is a grave-pit about 2·50 m. long, 0·70 m. wide, and 0·26 m. deep.

On the floor of the dromos very few potsherds were found, but three skeletons, or rather the remains of them, came to light. Directly in front of the door, 0·08 m. above the floor of the dromos, was a skull, no. 1, with a few scattered bones. In the eastern part of the dromos close to the floor and tucked in a small shelter hollowed into the south wall was the skeleton of a child, no. II, with some animal bones. In the same part of the dromos, about 0·60 m. above the floor, was a skull and other bones, no. III. In the eastern part of the dromos very little pottery was found. There was a certain amount of scattered sherds from much-broken vases, and all were of ordinary L.H. III style. In

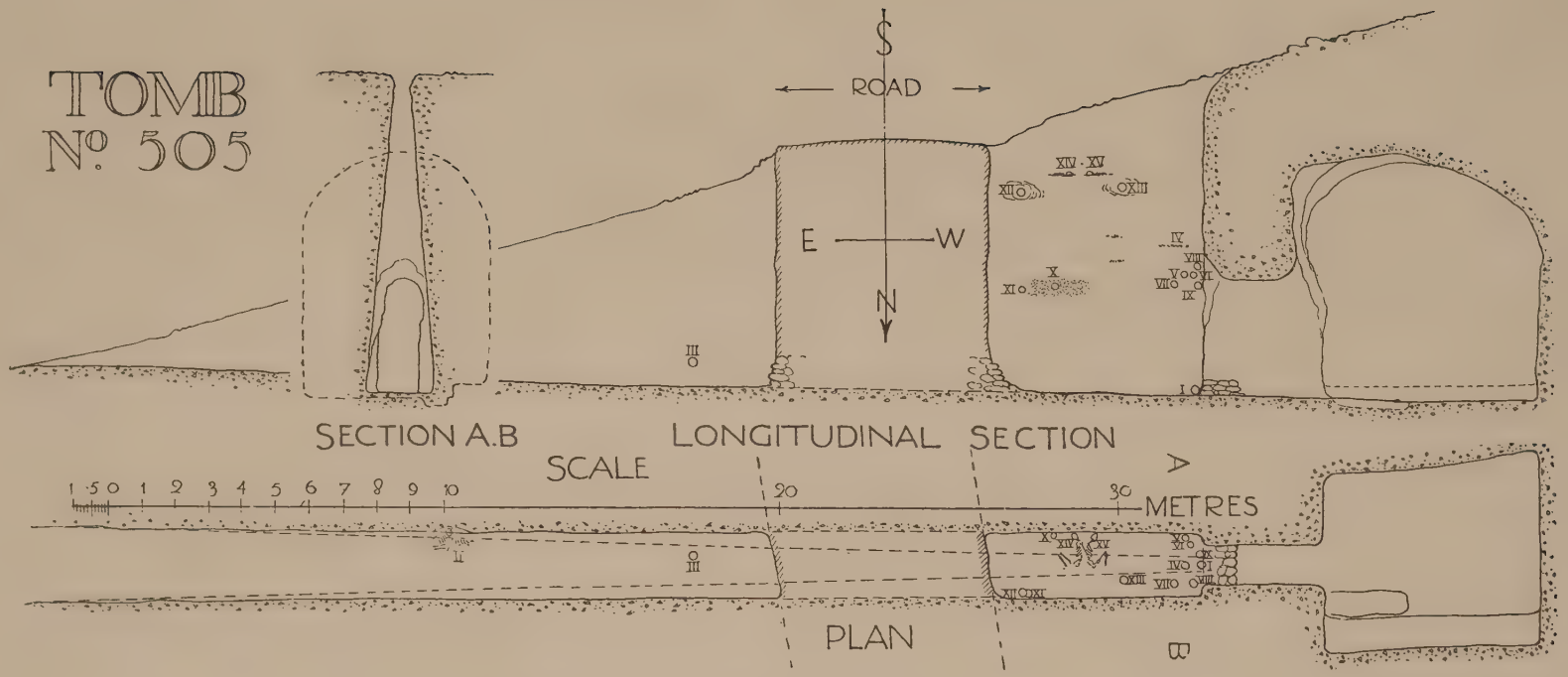

Fig. 7. Tomb 505, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 200).

the western part of the dromos up to a height of 2·50 m. above the floor, practically nothing was found. Above this level broken pottery of good L.H. III style was common, and the character of the earth changed from the ordinary rather coarse soil or powdered rock to a soft black earth full of decayed organic matter. In front of the door was a mass of stones. They were not built up in any way, but seemed more like a loose stone fill shot in to fill up a vacant space. This fill extended from the floor of the dromos to just above the top of the door. At a height of 3·00 m. above the floor or just below the level of the top of the door, a number of skulls and quantities of other human bones, with occasional remains of animals as well, came to light. Here we found the remains of at least six skeletons, nos. IV–IX, in and among the stone fill. At the same level, further to the east, were found the remains of two more skeletons, one, no. X, against the south wall, the other, no. XI, against the north wall. Both were in a layer of soft black earth full of decayed matter and broken pottery, at places where the soft vein in the rock had decayed and left a shallow shelter in the dromos wall which here, as always, slopes inwards to the top. By no. X were two broken terra-cotta female figurines of the ordinary L.H. III type, and many good sherds of painted early L.H. III ware. At about 6·00 m. above the floor, in a similar stratum against the north wall, also in the same kind of shelter, we found the remains of two more skeletons, nos. XII and XIII. These again were accompanied by a mass of broken pottery, and animal bones, including the skulls of a dog,[1] a pig, and a horse (?). The two last interments were two skeletons, nos. XIV, XV, found about 6·80 m. above the floor *in situ* in the usual reclining position side by side, with their heads against the south wall. Unfortunately there were no funeral offerings with them. They, at least, still lay where they had been buried, whereas all the other skeletons lay in disorder, and seemed to represent *disiecta membra* thrown out of their original resting-places. The one possible exception is the child, no. II, but in this case, though the bones seemed carefully packed together, they did not lie in order, and we could only conclude that they had been removed from their first place of burial and reinterred. The reclining position of nos. XIV and XV was, to judge by the results of our observations in the Kalkani cemetery, the usual Mycenaean attitude for the dead. The head was slightly raised. The body lay on its back with one hand by the side and the other in the lap. The knees were bent upwards.

The finding of so many skeletons all in confusion with the layer of black earth and all the broken pottery on a level with the top of the door of the chamber is highly suggestive. It seems to indicate that, some time before the fall of Mycenae, since no pottery later than L.H. III was found anywhere in

[1] See below, p. 116, note 1.

the dromos or in the chamber, the tomb was opened and cleared out. The broken pottery and human bones were left lying in the dromos, which perhaps may not have been completely dug out. Later, two more interments took place in the dromos, nos. XIV and XV.

The doorway, as stated, was open, except for the low blocking wall at its very beginning. Very little was found in the chamber. In its south-east angle, among a heap of stones were a few human bones, with one or two L.H. III potsherds. The other parts and the grave-pit in the floor yielded no finds at all.

This tomb seems to have been constructed early in the L.H. III period, and to have remained in use for some time. The large narrow wedge-shaped dromos and deep doorway resemble those of Tombs 519 and 525, which, as we shall see below, are characteristic L.H. III tombs. The family to which it belonged was large and wealthy to judge by the size of the tomb and the quantity of vases found in the dromos. Before the downfall of Mycenae, for no pottery later than L.H. III was found, a complete clearance of the tomb was made, and everything thrown out pell-mell into the dromos. Thereafter part of the roof and the inner jambs of the doorway fell in, and the tomb remained blocked up. Although the burial-pit in the floor seems to show that the tomb had been used, yet the absence of any blocking wall other than the low wall of stones in the doorway is striking. The presence, too, in the dromos of so many pieces of limestone laid in an orderly manner, as if they had been brought there for some purpose, suggests that plundering may not have been the reason why the tomb was empty. The limestone slabs in the dromos may have been intended to build up the faults in the soft rock at the sides; but another explanation has been suggested. The tomb may have been completed and used, and the dromos refilled with earth in the usual manner.[1] Later the blocking wall was removed except for its lowest courses, the stones were carefully piled in the dromos and the tomb was completely cleared in preparation for other interments. This operation was just finished[2] when a heavy fall of rock from the jambs and the vault took place. No further attempt to clear the chamber was made, and the dromos was used for interments, although it was encumbered with the remains of earlier interments removed from the chamber. Then the rock on the north side of the dromos fell in, and the tomb was abandoned. This would explain the presence in the dromos both of the mass of bones and pottery and of the two skeletons, nos. XIV, XV, *in situ*. This is the most reasonable explanation. Plunderers would not have made such a clean sweep of the chamber, especially as regards broken pottery, and the absence of anything later than L.H. III proves that the tomb was emptied in that period, most probably to make room for other interments.

[1] See below, p. 127. [2] Except perhaps that the dromos may not have been completely dug out.

Finds

I. *From the Dromos.*

The quantity of broken pottery found in the black earth with the majority of the skeletons seems to be the remains of about five hundred vases. The comparative scarcity of joins among the sherds found is perhaps due to the fact that more broken pottery still remains in the unexcavated section underneath the modern carriage road. About two-thirds consisted of unpainted fragments, and the remaining third of painted pieces.

Unpainted pottery, coarse: nearly half of this may be described as remains of large coarse domestic ware, such as big store jars, and the like. The clay has many impurities and varies in colour very much from grey-black to brick-red, and thence to pale buff. The pieces are too much broken and too small on the whole for the shapes to be determined with any degree of certainty.

Unpainted pottery, fine ware: the vases are generally smaller, and the fabric better, the clay being well purified, and the vases on the whole well baked. The colour varies from pale buff, which predominates, to a distinct pink. A few pieces show a surface with a white slip closely adhering to a pinkish biscuit. The commonest shape seems to be the ordinary L.H. III kylix, which has many varieties, but its frequency may be only apparent, and due to the ease with which kylix stems can be recognized. Shallow bowls with sharp profiles and two horizontal ribbon handles like those from the Palace [1] are not infrequent, and these often have well-defined string marks on the base. Jugs with one handle and small amphorae with two handles are other prominent shapes. The surface is usually rather rough, but sometimes is well smoothed and shows the persistence of the Yellow Minyan tradition.[2]

In general, one may say that the fine unpainted ware from this tomb agrees well, both as regards frequency of certain shapes, and the fabric and character of the ware itself, with the unpainted vases from the Kalkani cemetery,[3] notably those from Tombs 525, 529, and 533, and also with that from Tomb 520.

Painted pottery: the commonest shape again is the kylix; there are about sixty fragments of the painted stems of such vases. Deep bowls with a low base and one or two horizontal loop handles, probably resembling Tomb 518, no. 12 (pl. XLIII), are not rare. Most of these bowls, like the one from Tomb 518, are covered within and without with red-brown or black glaze paint.[4] There were at least twelve small stirrup-vases of the usual globular L.H. III type. They are of the Tell-el-Amarna style, and show the usual range of patterns.[5] There are pieces of a large stirrup-vase of the same style and type as the inscribed examples from Tiryns and Thebes. There are six fragments of small pyxides or of alabastra of the high L.H. III type [6] (in contrast to the low L.H. I–II type, in which the height is usually equal to only half the diameter). Nearly all of these have concentric circles on the base where it is preserved. Deep bowls [7] occurred, but were comparatively

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 150, fig. 33 *b*, *d*.
[2] Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 57, 72.
[3] See below, pp. 181 ff.
[4] Cf. Blegen, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44, figs. 59, 60.
[5] Patterns similar to Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pls. XXVII, 48, XXVIII, 55, 74.
[6] See below, p. 171.
[7] For the shape see *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. VI, and see below, p. 172.

rare. It is remarkable that among the L.H. III pottery from the Kalkani tombs the deep bowl is a very rare shape, whereas in deposits from inhabited sites, as for instance the

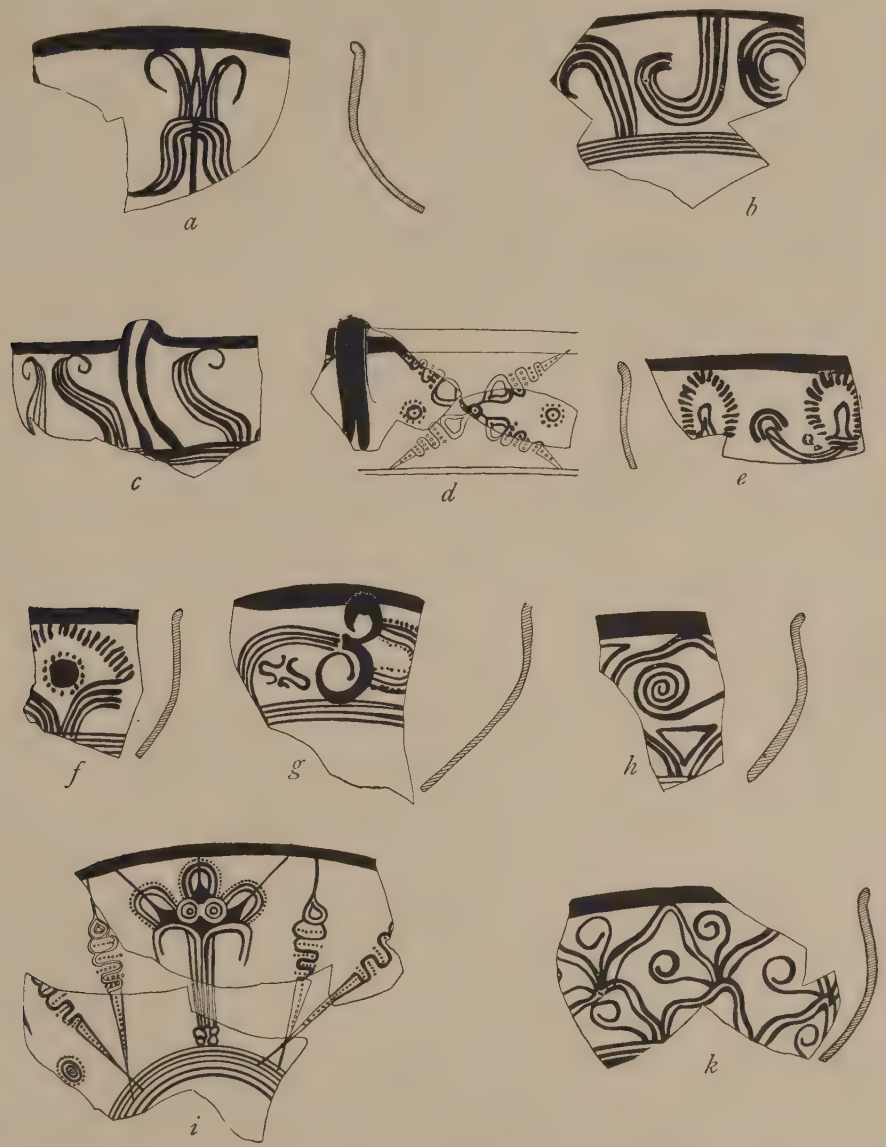

Fig. 8. Tomb 505, Patterns and Profiles of Kylix Fragments (Scale 1 : 3). L.H. III.

Lion Gate section or the Ramp House, the deep bowl is the most common shape. There were one or two handles of large jugs, and a few pieces of small shallow bowls with two horizontal ribbon handles. Of mugs there were only a few pieces. There is part of a shallow spouted bowl like Tomb 530, no. 12 (pl. LII). An exceptional shape is the cup of tea-cup shape shown in pl. XVI, *d*. This is 0·155 m. in diameter and 0·07 m. high, and has

three handles, a vertical loop handle just below the rim, and on the opposite side two small horizontal loop handles on the shoulder. This vase is of excellent fabric and decorated with rich red-brown paint on a buff slip. The pattern consists of a frieze of argonauts treated rather conventionally. Inside on the base are five concentric circles. The good fabric and careful execution of the design on this vase stamp it as one of the earliest from this tomb. With it can be classed a few pieces of kylikes decorated with octopus patterns in a somewhat similar manner, pl. XVI, *a*. These pieces from their style and technique rank with certain pottery from the lower strata of the Lion Gate section and that below the Ramp House as some of the earliest L.H. III ware.[1] There are two small pieces with the stippled or thrush-egg pattern, probably from mugs similar to the fragments from the Ramp House.[2] Characteristic specimens of the patterns on the other kylikes are to be seen in fig. 8 and pl. XVI, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*. Among these the murex, a favourite L.H. III design, is the most common, but floral devices, and spiral and network patterns are also quite common. These kylikes in spite of the sketchiness with which the patterns are executed yet show a better fabric than the kylikes found at Zygouries[3] which fall later in the L.H. III period. Thus the bulk of the pottery from this tomb can be taken as good, well developed, representative L.H. III ware, early rather than late. There is part of one jug with a well drawn octopus pattern decorated with added white paint. This again is good L.H. III ware, and not by any means a late example, since added white occurs on sherds from Tell-el-Amarna.[4] Miscellaneous finds in terra-cotta include six fragments of female figurines of the ordinary L.H. III types. Of earlier wares, there is one piece of Minyan Ware, and one possible piece of L.H. II ware.

II. *From the Chamber.*

From the chamber of the tomb there was practically no pottery at all. The only piece worth noting is a small stirrup-vase of the ordinary Tell-el-Amarna type, of which about two-thirds are preserved. There was also part of a pyxis of L.H. III style of which three other fragments were found in the doorway. In the chamber was a fragment of an ordinary lentoid agate sealstone, too small for the design to be made out, and in the doorway part of a terra-cotta figurine of an ox.

[1] *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 20 ff., figs. 6, 7, p. 80 f., fig. 19 *b*; cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, pp. 118.
[2] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XIV *h*, *i*; for the shape cf. Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXI, 150.
[3] Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 143 ff., fig. 135, pls. XVI-XVIII.
[4] Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XXVII, 26–9, 32–4.

PART II

THE KALKANI CEMETERY

By following the path that leads northwards from the modern village of Mycenae (Charvati) across the ridges, one reaches in about ten minutes the Upper Well (Epano Pegadi), which seems to date from prehistoric times. Hence a small ravine runs down westwards dividing the northern ridge, Phourno Diaselo, on which lie the Cyclopean Tomb and the Tomb of Genii, from the southern ridge called Kalkani. On the northern bank of this ravine Steffen in his map [1] marks a small cave which he calls 'Busioti Spilia'. This was explored by Tsountas, who found it to be a small plundered chamber tomb and also discovered two other tombs near by. We examined this slope between the north bank of the ravine and the path, and found six more tombs on this side, Tombs 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, and 531 (fig. 9). Our attention, however, had been specially directed to the southern side of the ravine, which is formed by the rather steep northern slope of the Kalkani hill. This had never before been explored for tombs, and we were fortunate enough to find fourteen Late Helladic chamber tombs, Tombs 513–19, 525–30, 532, and 533 (see frontispiece and the plan fig. 9). We had begun our search for tombs in the hope of finding some of L.H. I or L.H. II date, and, as will be seen in the account of them given below, we were not disappointed. We have every reason to believe that there are more tombs still to be excavated here on the Kalkani hill. For the successful excavation in 1921 and 1922 of those we found we owe much to the skill of our foreman, Georgios Alexopoulos, whose experience and local knowledge were extremely valuable.

It will be noticed below that in clearing the dromoi and the fallen chambers of several of the tombs we found some sherds of early pottery, notably Early Helladic ware. Surface examination of the gentler slopes of the hill above the tombs revealed many other sherds of Early Helladic ware. This suggests that perhaps from the beginning of the Bronze Age the top of the Kalkani hill was occupied by some small settlement. Its abrupt rocky knob would have been an attractive site for Early Helladic settlers, as it is both near water, the Epano Pegadi, and easily defensible. Now the rains of centuries have washed the rock on the top of the hill quite bare, so that there is no hope of recovering any detailed knowledge of this hamlet. It was probably an outlying settlement of Mycenae, and the tombs which we found were probably those of its Late Helladic inhabitants. If so, this would confirm Tsountas's suggestion that the

[1] *Karten von Mykenai*, pl. 1; cf. Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 119; *B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 285, fig. 49.

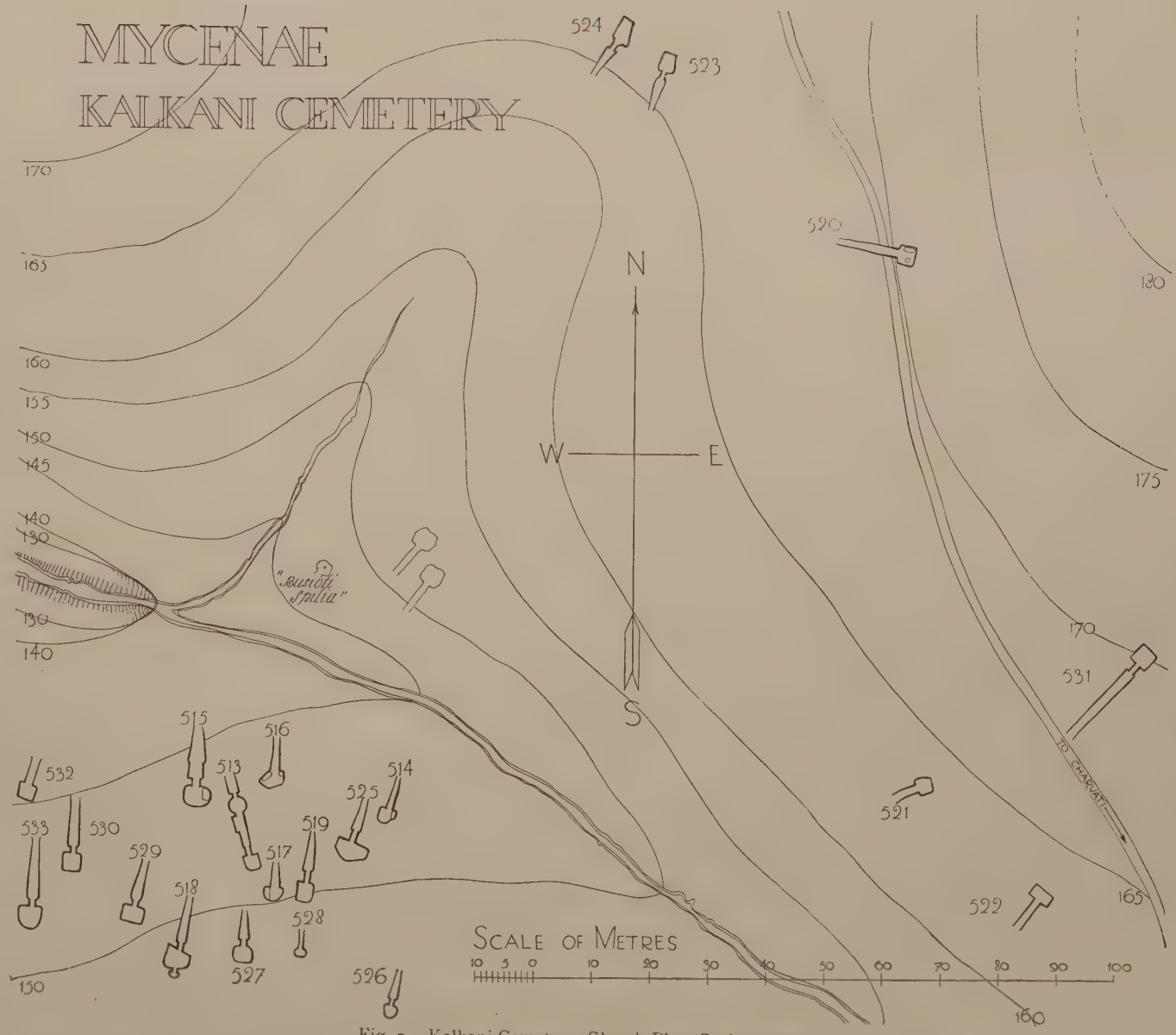

Fig. 9. Kalkani Cemetery, Sketch Plan (Scale 1 : 1000).

various groups of tombs found round Mycenae are those of separate clans living together in different hamlets.[1] At any rate, whether this is correct or not, the fact remains that the Kalkani hill was inhabited from Early Helladic times and throughout the Bronze Age, for Middle and Late Helladic ware are also present.

For the sake of convenience, and to avoid multiplying names, we have called the whole cemetery the Kalkani Cemetery, both the tombs on the north side of the ravine and those on the south, which alone are actually on the Kalkani hill. As a matter of fact, the modern inhabitants call the locality *'s τοῦ* **Μπουζιώτη**, and thus commemorate some shepherd who camped in the 'cave' or ruined tomb explored by Tsountas.

For Tombs 513–519 see South Bank, pp. 45 ff.

A. The North Bank

Tomb 520 (fig. 10).

The entrance faces west and is approached by a well-cut dromos 7·00 m.

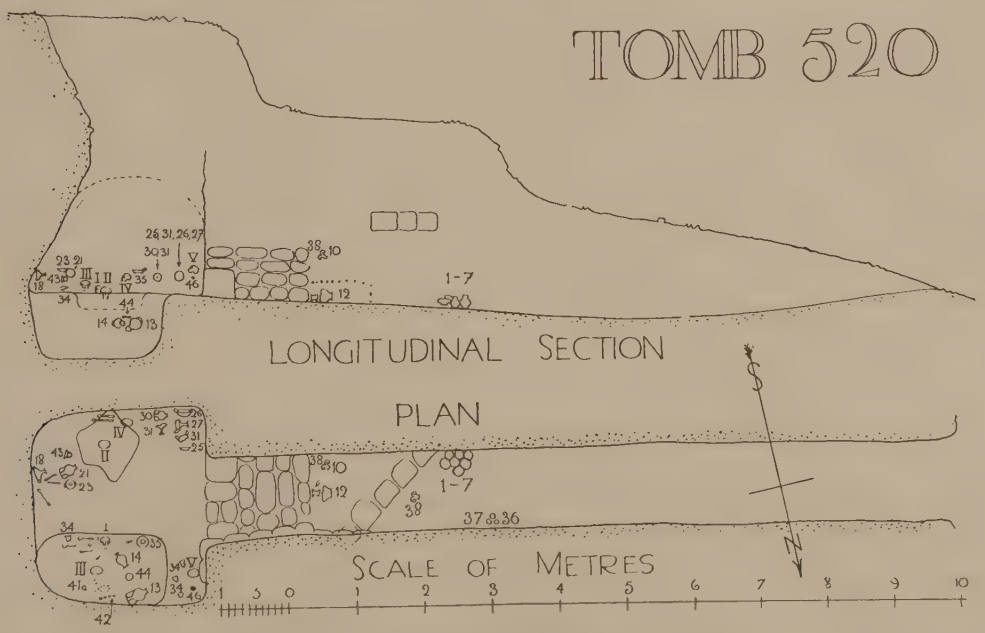

Fig. 10. Tomb 520, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

long and about 1·25 m. wide. The door was closed by a stone wall, of which the upper part had been disturbed, perhaps at the time when the row of stones,

[1] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 124.

running diagonally across the dromos at 1·40 m. above the floor (fig. 10), was laid down. The vault had collapsed, and the chamber, roughly square in shape, was filled with fallen rock and earth.

On the floor of the dromos, 4·25 m. from its entrance, against the north wall were found several glass beads (36), with some steatite spindle whorls (37); and at 4·85 m., also on the floor, and resting against the south wall, a nest of vases (1–7) all upside down. Two similar steatite whorls (37) were found 7·85 m. from the entrance and 0·30 m. above the floor, and in the same area, resting on the floor, a gold ornament (38), and a few bones. Close against the stones of the doorway, 0·70 m. above the floor, another gold ornament of the same type appeared, below it a glass bead (36 *a*), and lying on the rock in the middle of the dromos the fragments of a large amphora (12). The bones were too decomposed to be identified, but these were probably the remains either of a burial associated with the nest of vases and the scattered small objects, or of an early interment removed from the chamber. Four other vases (8–11) were found scattered in fragments about the dromos, but none of them is complete.

When the stones of the doorway had been removed, it was found that the face of the rock on the north side had been strengthened with a revetment of rough stones, which extended the whole depth of the doorway and 1·00 m. along the dromos. This revetment consisted of four courses at the chamber end, and was 1·00 m. wide and 0·75 m. high, but diminished progressively towards the dromos, where it ended with two courses and a height of 0·30 m. Among the stones of the doorway on its inner face appeared two spindle whorls (37), a bronze pin (39), two glass paste ornaments (40), and a few bones, all at 030 m. above the floor level.

The chamber contained two pits. One ran along the north wall and measured 1·80 m. by about 1·00 m. and was about 1·00 m. deep. At the bottom lay three necklaces: glass (41 *a*), faience (41 *e*), paste (42). Above at about 0·50 m. below the floor of the chamber and against the north wall lay a complete jug with stirrup handle (13), and in the south area, at the same level, an amphora (14) in fragments stuck together in a mass. In the same area lay the beautiful ivory lid (44). All along the southern side of the pit to a depth of 0·40 m. was a pile of bones pressed closely against the side and projecting about half-way across the pit. The skull, no. 1, lay on top of the bones. From the position of the bones and of the stirrup-vase it seems that they had been pushed on one side, when the tomb was reopened for fresh interments and the previous contents were disturbed.

The other pit lay in the southern part of the chamber. It was a rough diamond-shaped depression rather than a pit, being only 0·25 m. deep. It

contained nothing, but a skull, no. II, lay immediately above it on the floor level.

The find area in the chamber began at 0·40 m. above the floor. Three skulls in addition to no. II were found at various levels, nos. III, IV, V, and a number of much decomposed bones. Stratification was noted as the work proceeded, but furnished no very clear indication as to the priority of the interments or the arrangement of the objects, everything being in confusion and fragments of the same vase appearing in different strata and in different parts of the tomb: e.g. the large amphora (34) of which fragments were found at all levels. A group of five vases (25, 26, 27, 30, and 31), however, may with probability be associated with skull no. IV, which lay in the same neighbourhood and at the same level. Two vases (15 and 17) seemed for the same reason to belong to skull no. III. The beautiful gold ring (43) cannot be associated with any particular burial. It was found 0·20 m. above the floor, 0·70 m. from the east and 0·70 m. from the south wall of the chamber. As all the vases are L.H. III, the various interments cannot have been far separated in time, and since no pottery or other objects of the Iron Age occurred in the chamber, the disturbance of the tomb would have taken place while it was still in use. Perhaps the roof collapsed early and so the final interment had to take place in the dromos.

In clearing away the superincumbent earth above the fallen roof of the chamber a few sherds of Iron Age pottery were found of the usual Argive Geometric type, similar to that from the plundered Tomb 522.[1]

Finds

A. *Pottery.*

I. *From the Dromos.*

1. Kylix: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; one low handle; sharp profile; same shape as no. 27 from chamber, pl. XVI. L.H. III.

2. Kylix: h. 0·12 m., d. 0·125 m.; unpainted; one low handle; similar to no. 27 from chamber, pl. XVI, but profile more rounded. L.H. III.

3. Kylix: h. 0·11 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; two high swung handles standing well above rim; similar to no. 31, pl. XVI, and nos. 15 and 17, all from chamber. L.H. III.

4. Three-handled amphora: h. 0·14 m., d. 0·09 m.; paint has almost vanished; belts of solid colour round base and neck; on shoulder net pattern; handles of horizontal loop type; shape like Tomb 525, no. 7, pl. XLV. L.H. III.

5. Three-handled amphora: h. 0·17 m., d. 0·09 m.; similar to no. 4 in shape and decoration, but vertical curved lines replace network on shoulder; quirks below handles of horizontal loop type; plastic rings round base and at foot of neck. L.H. III.

6. Alabastron, fragment: h. 0·08 m., d. about 0·22 m.; on base concentric circles, on body simple wave pattern. L.H. III.

[1] See below, p. 32.

7. Three-handled amphora, pl. XVI: h. 0·26 m., d. 0·12 m.; unpainted; one handle missing; similar to nos. 4 and 5, but handles are vertical and of metallic type with central rib; plastic rings round base and foot of neck; buff ware, good fabric. L.H. III.

8. Three-handled amphora, fragments only: measurements unobtainable; similar to nos. 4 and 5 with horizontal loop handles, cf. Tomb 525, no. 7 (pl. XLV); painted like the two cited, but with cross-hatching on shoulder. L.H. III.

9. Three-handled amphora, fragments only: measurements unobtainable; similar in shape and decoration to nos. 4, 5, and 8, but with wavy line on shoulder; cf. no. 14 from chamber, pl. XVI. L.H. III.

10. Jug, small: measurements unobtainable; round base horizontal bands; spirals and sprays on shoulder and body. L.H. III.

11. Kylix, fragment only: measurements unobtainable; unpainted; similar to no. 27 from chamber, pl. XVI. L.H. III.

12. Three-handled amphora, large, fragments only: h. over 0·35 m.; decoration similar to that of nos. 4, 5, 8, and 9, but with horizontal bands round body; cf. no. 14, pl. XVI, and on shoulder linked spirals (argonauts?) with conventional marine filling. L.H. III.

II. *From the Chamber.*

13. Jug with stirrup handle: h. 0·20 m.; unpainted; spout missing; plastic ring at foot of neck and round base; similar to nos. 19, 21, pl. XVII, and 30; buff ware. *North Pit.* L.H. III.

14. Three-handled amphora, pl. XVI: h. 0·21 m., d. 0·10 m.; similar to no. 12 in plan of decoration, and to no. 9 in pattern. *North Pit.* L.H. III.

15. Kylix: h. 0·17 m., d. 0·13 m.; unpainted; two high swung handles like no. 31, pl. XVI; yellow buff ware. L.H. III.

16. Three-handled amphora, pl. XVII: h. 0·42 m., d. 0·15 m.; similar to no. 24, pl. XVII; solid colour on neck and base which has a wide spreading ring; on body plain horizontal bands; on shoulder frieze of oblique murex shells. L.H. III.

17. Kylix: h. 0·18 m., d. 0·14 m.; unpainted; two high swung handles like no. 31, pl. XVI; buff ware. L.H. III.

18. Kylix: h. 0·12 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; one low handle; similar to no. 27 from chamber, pl. XVI; buff ware. L.H. III.

19. Jug with stirrup handle, pl. XVII: h. 0·18 m.; unpainted; similar to nos. 13, 21, pl. XVII, and 30; plastic rings at neck and base; small spout on one side of rim. L.H. III.

20 Stirrup-vase: h. 0·11 m.; thick and thin horizontal bands alternating round body; on shoulder chevron design; globular shape, Tell-el-Amarna style; cf. Tomb 521, no. 7, pl. XVII. L.H. III.

21. Jug with stirrup handle, pl. XVII: h. 0·17 m.; unpainted; similar to nos. 13, 19, pl. XVII, and 30; buff ware; good fabric. L.H. III.

22. Alabastron, pl. XVII: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·10 m.; paint in poor condition; on body conventionalized sprays; on base concentric circles; poor fabric. L.H. III.

23. Shallow bowl, fragment: h. 0·05 m., d. about 0·14 m.; unpainted; two horizontal ribbon handles; string marks on base; rough fabric. L.H. III.

24. Three-handled amphora, pl. XVII: h. 0·31 m., d. 0·125 m.; arrangement of pattern similar to that of no. 16, pl. XVII; on shoulder groups of conventionalized chevrons. L.H. III.

25. Handleless cup: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; brick-red ware, poor fabric. L.H. III.

26. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. XVII: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·12 m.; vertical loop handle; round base five horizontal lines; on body linked spiral pattern, a L.H. III version of the L.H. I design seen on Tomb 517, no. 11, pl. XXXIV; Tomb 518, no. 37, pl. XLI; Tomb 529, no. 1, pl. I. L.H. III.

27. Kylix, pl. XVI: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·10 m.; unpainted; one low handle. L.H. III.

28. Kylix, pl. XVI: h. 0·20 m., d. 0·16 m.; unpainted; two low handles; good buff ware. L.H. III.

29. Shallow bowl, pl. XVII: h. 0·069 m., d. 0·145 m.; unpainted; two horizontal ribbon handles (one is missing with part of rim); string marks on base; rough fabric. L.H. III.

30. Jug with stirrup handle: h. 0·205 m.; unpainted; similar to nos. 13, 19, pl. XVII, and 21, pl. XVII; good yellow buff ware. L.H. III.

31. Kylix, pl. XVI: h. 0·16 m., d. 0·12 m.; unpainted; two high swung handles; similar to nos. 15, 17, and 32; buff ware. L.H. III.

32. Kylix: h. 0·13 m., d. 0·135 m.; unpainted; two high swung handles (one missing); similar to no. 31, pl. XVI; yellow buff ware. L.H. III.

33. Three-handled amphora: h. 0·22 m.; unpainted; same shape as no. 7, pl. XVI; plastic rings on neck and base; buff ware. L.H. III.

34. Three-handled amphora: h. 0·32 m.; base missing; round shoulder cross hatching as on no. 8; otherwise similar to no. 14, pl. XVI. L.H. III.

35. Cup, bell-shaped: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·095 m.; unpainted; handle missing; small ring base; metallic shape like Tomb 524, no. 8, pl. XXII; buff ware. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

I. *From the Dromos.*

36. Beads of glass, grey, fig. 11:—

a. Spherical, nine: d. 0·008 m.–0·017 m.

b. Shaped like two cones set base to base, one: d. 0·011 m.

c. Oval, two: l. 0·01 m.

d. Spheroid, slightly flattened at both ends, one: d. 0·013 m.

37. Spindle whorls, steatite, twenty-nine (two found in Doorway), fig. 11: h. largest 0·015 m., smallest 0·006 m.; purple-grey, soapy green, and red:—

a. Shanked, button type, with indented base, fourteen.

b. Shanked, button type, with flat base, four.

c. Conical, eleven.

38. Gold, volute ornaments, from necklace, two, fig. 12: w. 0·02 m.; not unlike the

gold beads from Tomb VII at Argos[1] and elsewhere; three perforations for threading; back is separate piece soldered on to front; hollow and filled with red-purple sand.

II. *From the Doorway* (*see also no. 37*).

39. Bronze pin: l. 0·055 m.; broken.

40. Ornaments of glass paste, shell type, four, fig. 12: w. 0·016 m.; Schliemann found at Mycenae a steatite mould for casting such ornaments in faience or glass paste,[2] and gold beads of this type are known from Mycenae, Argos, Phaistos, and Knossos.[3]

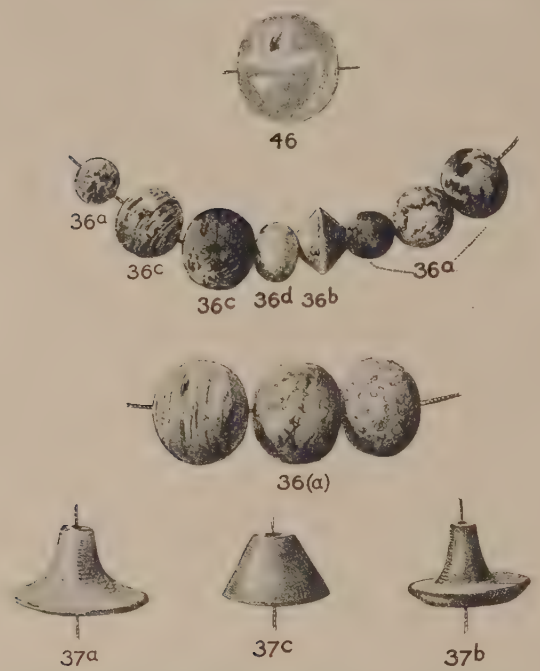

Fig. 11. Tomb 520, Beads of Glass, no. 36, and of Crystal, no. 46, and Steatite Whorls, no. 37 (Scale 9:10). L.H. III.

III. *From the Chamber.*

41. Beads of glass *a–d*, and faience *e*, *f*, sixty-six, fig. 12:—

a. Spheroid, flattened, twenty-three, forming necklace: d. varies from 0·008 m. to 0·013 m.; vertical ribbed decoration; all dull grey blue except one dark blue; similar necklace from Knossos.[4] *North Pit.*

b. Spheroid, similar to *a*, but less flat, two: d. 0·009 m.

c. Spherical, one: d. 0·005 m.; with rough horizontal incised lines.

d. Round and flat like washers, twenty: d. 0·002 m.; colours white, yellow, blue.

e. Amygdaloid, seventeen: l. 0·01 m.; ribbed central band; blue. *North Pit.*

f. Shaped like grains of wheat, three: l. 0·016 m.; fluted horizontally; similar beads from Tomb of Genii, Mycenae, and Phaistos.[5]

42. Ornaments of glass paste, from necklace, fourteen complete, six broken, fig. 12; l. 0·015 m., w. 0·015 m.; grey; with ivy-leaf design and shaped to interlock in long band; two perforations for threading in each; similar ornaments from Thebes, Dendra, and Asine.[6] *North Pit.*

43. Gold signet ring, fig. 13: bezel l. 0·003 m., w. 0·019 m., hoop d. 0·023 m.; on the

[1] *B.C.H.*, 1904, p. 388, fig. 28; see below, p. 194.

[2] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 107, fig. 162.

[3] *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 598, fig. 61; *B.C.H.*, 1904, p. 384, fig. 19; *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 596, no. 12, pl. xxxix; Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 76, fig. 85.

[4] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 71, fig. 81 *a*.

[5] *B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 380 (nos. 4537 *a*, 4539), fig. 88 *a*, *o*; *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 141, fig. 100 *c*; see below, p. 206.

[6] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 160, fig. 119; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. xxxviii, 1; cf. pl. xliii, 2; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pl. xviii, 2; see below, p. 221.

oval bezel is an intaglio design showing two wild goats with heads turned back heraldically opposed on either side of a tall trifoliate plant [1] rising from a conventionalized ground;

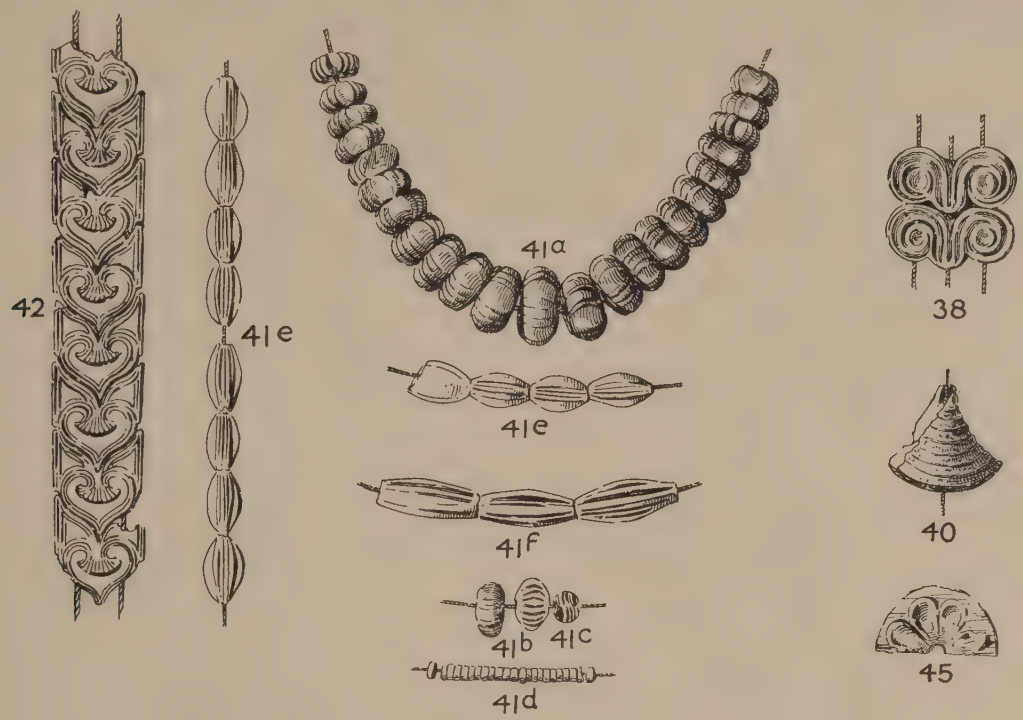

Fig. 12. Tomb 520, Ornaments and Beads of Gold, no. 38, Glass Paste, nos. 40, 42, Glass, no. 41 *a–d*, Faience, no. 41 *e*, *f*, and Ivory, no. 45 (Scale 9 : 10). L.H. III.

two similar plants occupy the vacant space behind them. Design and drawing are admirable, notably the delicate rendering of the long hair under the belly and the ridges at the bases of the horns, while the combination of naturalistic and schematic elements is especially fine. The ring is composed of three pieces: (1) the engraved bezel, the sides of which bend over slightly at the back and have slight incisions for the insertion of (2) the hoop. After the insertion of the hoop a back plate (3) was passed through the hoop and soldered firmly down. Probably when this was done the bezel, which is hollow, was filled with sand or some similar substance to enable it to retain its shape, as in the case of the gold ornaments, no. 38, from this tomb. Similarly the bezels of the two gold rings from the Fourth Shaft Grave are filled with some soft metal, perhaps lead.[2] Early L.H. III.

Fig. 13. Tomb 520, Gold Ring, no. 43 (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. III.

44. Ivory lid, round, fig. 14: d. 0·062 m.; engraved with design of rosette with eight

[1] Cf. Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 56 ff., figs. 30–4; *'Εφ. 'Αρχ.*, 1889, pl. x, 43.

[2] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 223, figs. 334, 335; Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 73 f., nos. 240, 241, pl. xxiv.

petals enclosed in a ring of small dots, round which runs a broad band decorated with eight rosettes each set in a foliated spiral. Spirals are the basis of the whole design, but rosettes are substituted for their centres. A similar design occurs on a gold cup from Mycenae,[1] on a gold and silver cup from Vaphio,[2] on the alabaster frieze from Tiryns,[3] and on a large amphora in the Candia Museum.[4] Round the outer edge are small holes for the little pegs by which the ivory was fixed to a wooden backing, probably the lid of a small pyxis like those from Tomb 518, nos. 55, 56, fig. 31. *North Pit.* L.H. III.

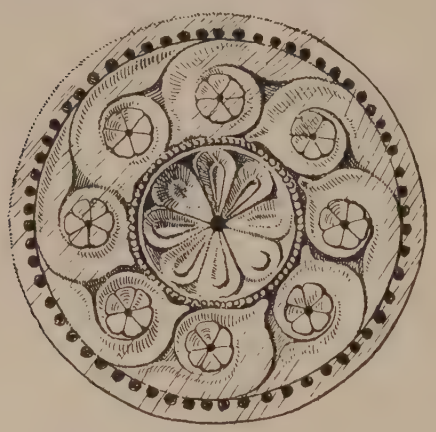

Fig. 14. Tomb 520, Ivory Lid, no. 44 (restored) (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. III.

45. Ivory disc, fragment, fig. 12: d. 0·02 m.; engraved with a rosette with eight petals; pierced through the centre; similar to paste rosettes from Thebes.[5]

46. Crystal bead, spherical, one, fig. 11: d. 0·019 m.

Tomb 521 (fig. 15).

The entrance faces south-west and is approached by a dromos varying from 1·10 m. to 0·90 m. in width, and at least 3·80 m. long, but its walls were so low and irregularly cut that the exact length and height were difficult to estimate. There was no trace of any stone wall blocking the doorway, which does not seem to have been marked off from the dromos as in other tombs, except Tombs 514, 516, 517, 520, and 528. Most of the roof of the chamber, which was roughly square, had fallen in. In the middle was a shallow shapeless pit (fig. 15) about 0·15 m. deep, and in the west corner a small round pit about 0·20 m. deep.

In the pit in the west corner a skull, no. 1, was found with leg and arm bones, and near its cheek a clay spindle whorl (15). On the edge of the pit lay another skull, no. 11, and around it on the rock floor along the north-west side was a thin layer of much decayed and broken bones with various sherds of L.H. III date including 1. The pit in the centre of the chamber contained ribs, leg and arm bones, and fragments of a skull, no. v, in complete disorder, together with the scattered fragments of an early L.H. III jug (2), and a handleless cup (3). Above the largest piece of the latter, at the floor level of the chamber, lay an L.H. III askos (4) upside down.

The north corner of the chamber was practically empty. A heap of bones,

[1] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3147.
[2] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, pl. VII, 15, 15*α*, 15*β*.
[3] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. IV.
[4] No. 7659, from Knossos.
[5] *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 133, fig. 98, nos. 15–20.

at its greatest height about 0·40 m. above the floor, occupied the whole east and south part of the chamber. In this nest of bones were found two skulls nos. III and IV, and several L.H. III potsherds. Close by skull no. III, at

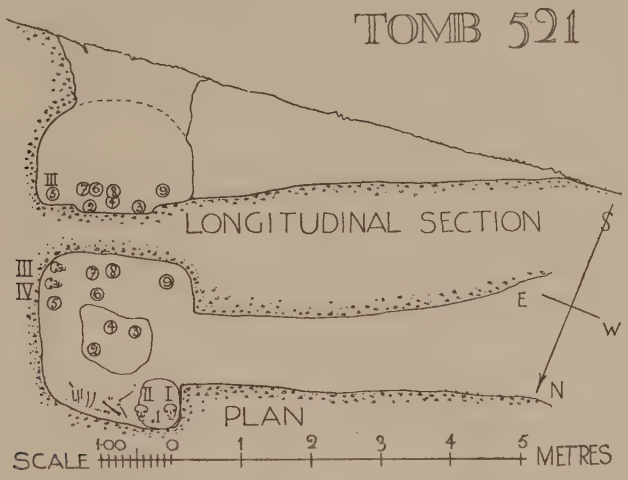

Fig. 15. Tomb 521, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

about 0·15 m. above the floor, an L.H. III jug (5), with bold and rather sketchy designs of human figures and animals, lay on its side among leg bones and ribs. To the south of this vase, at different levels among the bones, were others all L.H. III : an unpainted jug (6), a stirrup-vase (7), both 0·20 m. above the floor, a jug with stirrup handle (8), 0·10 m. above the floor, and in the south corner a female terra-cotta figurine (9), 0·20 m. above the floor.

The two skulls, nos. III and IV, and the arm and leg bones along the north-east wall suggest two skeletons with their heads in the east corner. To make room for these the earlier interments may have been removed to the pits. The whole was, however, so disturbed that no certain conclusion could be reached.

The earth from the tomb, when sifted, yielded a couple of clay spindle whorls (14), a volute necklace ornament of glass paste (10), three glass beads (11 and 12), and a fragment of a plain bone pin (13). No metal objects were found, but their absence is explained by the condition of the tomb, which had clearly been disturbed when reopened for later burials or the cult of the dead. No disturbance seems to have taken place since the Bronze Age, for all the miscellaneous sherds found in the chamber were of ordinary L.H. III style and fabric except one E.H. piece.

Finds

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Kylix, twelve fragments : measurements unobtainable ; two low handles ; covered within and without with red-brown glaze paint. *Western Pit.* L.H. III.

2. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XIX : h. 0·082 m. ; paint has almost vanished ; spiral pattern round shoulder and horizontal bands round body. *Central Pit.* Early L.H. III.

3. Handleless cup : h. 0·042 m., d. 0·106 m. ; unpainted ; similar cups in Tomb 517, no. 21 (pl. XXXIV), and Tomb 518, no. 14 (pl. XLIII) ; many specimens were found below the floors of the Palace.[1] They occur in L.H. II strata at Korakou,[2] and at Messenian Pylos.[3] *Central Pit.* L.H. II–III.

4. Askos, pl. XIX : l. 0·099 m. ; pattern of horizontal wavy lines ; similar to Tomb 524, no. 4, pl. XXII. Vases of the same type are not uncommon elsewhere.[4] *Above Central Pit.* L.H. III.

5. Three-handled jug, pls. XVIII, XIX : h. 0·104 m. ; two loop handles, one on either side of body, in addition to handle on neck. The jug is decorated with a double frieze of human and animal figures.[5] A dancing or jumping figure with a big wheel in each hand is clearly the centre of the composition, though drawn on the back of the vase. Women and animals arranged in two rows move towards him from the right and left. In the upper row two women approach the dancer from the left. The first woman who seems to wear a polos is walking, the second is running, and she holds her left hand before her and stretches the right out behind her ; and just beyond and below her hands are a large and a small wheel. In the lower row a horned animal, probably a goat, approaches the dancing man from the left. Between them is an object which has not been identified, but looks like a caterpillar or a scorpion. On the right of the dancer a flying bird corresponds to the goat. Behind this is a large goose also advancing towards the dancer.

The drawing is hasty and imperfect, but the lines are purposeful and decided, especially in the goat and goose. L.H. III.

6. Jug with horizontal lip : h. 0·175 m. ; unpainted. L.H. III.

7. Stirrup-vase, pl. XIX : h. 0·11 m. ; globular, Tell-el-Amarna shape ; broad bands round body with three belts of fine lines ; on shoulder pattern of chevron type. L.H. III.

8. Jug with stirrup handle, pl. XIX : h. 0·106 m. ; broad and narrow lines round body, middle of which is unpainted ; on shoulder chevrons ; for shape and pattern compare a similar vase from Thebes.[6] L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

9. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XIX : h. 0·129 m. ; oval body, arms not indicated. L.H.III.

10. Ornament of glass paste, volute type, from necklace : w. 0·02 m., l. 0·012 m. ;

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 150, fig. 33 *c*, p. 215.
[2] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 59, and fig. 81.
[3] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1914, p. 111, fig. 21 ; see below, pp. 164, 184.
[4] *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 97, fig. 70 *β* ; p. 153, fig. 114, 4 ; Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 207, fig. 143 ; see below, p. 172.
[5] See below, pp. 176 ff.
[6] *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 191, fig. 136, 5.

grey; two perforations for threading; similar to gold examples from Tomb 520, no. 38, fig. 12, Tomb VII at Argos, and Tomb 26 at Thebes.[1]

11. Beads of glass, spherical, two: d. 0·013 m., 0·018 m.; grey.

12. Bead of glass, tubular, incomplete: l. 0·026 m.; greenish-blue; raised spiral decoration.

13. Bone pin, fragment: l. 0·021 m.; plain.

14. Spindle whorls, terra-cotta, conical, two, one incomplete: h. 0·023 m., 0·015 m.; edge of base bevelled.

15. Spindle whorl, terra-cotta, conical: h. 0·016 m.; edge of base bevelled. *Western Pit.*

Tomb 522 (fig. 16).

The entrance faces south-west and is approached by a dromos at least 3·50 m. long and 1·00 m. wide, so far as ascertainable. The chamber is rectangular

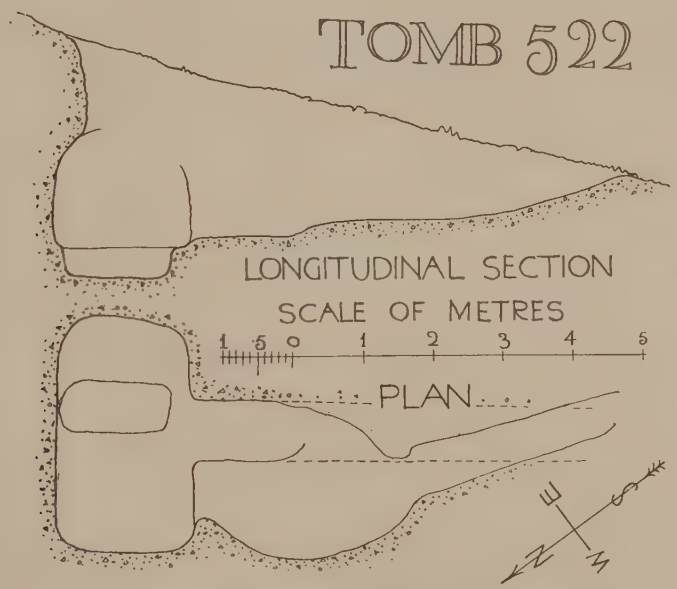

Fig. 16. Tomb 522, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

and measures about 3·30 m. by 1·90 m. In its east part lay a rectangular pit about 1·50 m. long, 0·75 m. wide, and 0·45 m. deep. The roof of the chamber had long since fallen in, and there was no trace of any doorway, so perhaps the doorway was of the same width as the dromos, as for instance in Tombs 514, 516, 517, 520, and 528. The tomb had been dug out and completely ruined and

[1] *B. C. H.*, 1904, p. 388, fig. 28; *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 197, fig. 142, 5; see below, pp. 194, 221.

plundered. When we excavated it, it was full of stones and yielded a large quantity of broken pottery of all periods.

None of the pottery found in the fill of this plundered tomb is later than the period of Orientalizing pottery, except for the spool, which may be Hellenistic. On the evidence of the pottery we might conclude that the tomb was found and robbed not later than the sixth century B.C. If it had been robbed later the absence of any Hellenistic pottery is remarkable. Perhaps the spool is intrusive, or perhaps it is of the same date as the Orientalizing pottery. Since, then, we have no sound criterion for dating the spool, it is reasonable to assume that the tomb was found and plundered by the middle of the sixth century B.C.

Finds

From the Chamber.

Iron Age.

A. *Pottery.*

Geometric Ware: Argive style; a large number of Geometric sherds was found with a pale buff surface, not thick enough to be called a slip, laid over a pinkish biscuit. The thin surface accounts for the bad condition of the sherds, as paint and surface have in many cases come away together, so as to leave the design drawn in the deeper colour of the biscuit. The fragments are mostly from large vases, and resemble the usual Argive style known at Tiryns, Asine, the Argive Heraion, and Mycenae itself.[1] The most common patterns are meanders, zigzags, which occur vertically in groups or horizontally between parallel lines, rope bands, concentric circles, hatched circles, rows of large dots and chequer patterns. Horses and birds appear, the latter in rows as well as individually. One fragment showing part of a large horse has the field filled with the usual miscellaneous ornaments, such as chevrons and chequered squares. One or two pieces with the surface divided into metopes of irregular shape, wider at one end than the other, possibly come from the shoulders of large vases. Two pieces have wavy lines running horizontally, and two others show horizontal lines in added white. There is also one piece of rather finer ware, part of a dish of a shape common in Spartan Geometric pottery.[2] The inside is painted black, the outside is decorated with parallel lines, and on the rim are groups of dashes. The paint is lustrous and carefully laid on.

Another class of Geometric ware is represented by a number of sherds of thin hard fabric brown to red in colour and mostly unpainted. The necks and handles, however, have in some cases a rough zigzag in dull black or purple paint, which is often very faint indeed. The shapes seem to be jugs and bowls with upright necks. This class, Dr. Schweitzer informs me, resembles some of the Olympia pottery.[3] It is in any case

[1] *Tiryns*, i, pp. 135 ff.; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924-5, pls XLVI, XLVII; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, pp. 101 ff., pls. LVI ff.; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pls. XX, XXII; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, pp. 76 ff.

[2] *B. S. A.*, xiii, p. 120, fig. 1, *h*, *i* = Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, p. 55, fig. 30 *h*, *i*.

[3] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1922, pp. 3 ff.

a coarse domestic ware. Finally there are a few sherds of unpainted ware, very coarse, of buff and pinkish clay, which probably represent the commonest kind of household ware.

Proto-Corinthian Ware: there is one fragment of a fairly large amphora, the decora-

Fig. 17. Tomb 522, Proto-Corinthian, Orientalizing, and Corinthian Fragments (Scale 2 : 3).

tion of which seems to imitate a typical Proto-Corinthian skyphos. The paint, however, is redder and the lines somewhat finer than is usual on such a large vase, as though the painter had aimed at the effect of a smaller vase. There are also a few fragments, and one or two handles, of Proto-Corinthian skyphoi, several bases of bowls with ray patterns, and part of the base of a pyxis of the ordinary type (fig. 17 *a*).[1]

Orientalizing Ware: there are about thirty-four fragments of rather fine ware covered with black glaze overlaid with thin bands of added white or purple (the latter occasionally are broad).[2] The shapes are skyphoi, pyxides, bowls with or without stems, and with almost straight necks.

[1] Cf. Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens*, pl. XVIII, 4.

[2] A characteristic of Laconian I–III pottery, Droop, *J. H. S.*, 1910, p. 5 f.

Two fragments of an amphora (?) in a style probably Corinthian [1] show confronted birds with rosettes filling the field and with incised details (fig. 17 *b*). On another small piece of fine buff ware appears a lion with a purple mane, and the details of the face and limbs carefully incised (fig. 17 *c*). Below the ground line are rays. There are also a few pieces of reddish clay decorated in a rougher style without incision. A very interesting fragment of a vase of curious shape shows a ground line of two fine parallel lines in black, with a row of loops below them. Above, part of a large lion is represented in outline technique (fig. 17 *d*). The body and hind legs are outlined in black and filled in with purple. The paws are in outline. The front leg is also in outline, but has a filling of dots. Between the hind legs appears a small boar in incised technique. As in Laconian II [2] the two techniques appear here side by side. The same is to be observed on some similar sherds of Orientalizing ware found by Schliemann at Mycenae,[3] and now in the National Museum at Athens. There is part of the handle of an oinochoe imitating metal work with black paint picked out by white dots. There is a fragment from the rim of a skyphos of the usual Proto-Corinthian shape with a scene in the 'Corinthian' style, with rosettes filling the blank spaces in the field, above a row of upright zigzags. Finally pieces from the necks of two kraters painted black with thin white and purple lines round the rim complete the tale of notable fragments.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

Clay spool: h. 0·044 m.; impressed at one end with a star device similar to that on a loom-weight from one of the Hellenistic chambers south of the Great Ramp.[4]

Bronze Age.

Pottery.

Late Helladic Ware: this so far as identifiable is all of the usual L.H. III style and types, and the murex and the octopus are among the patterns. The following shapes occurred:—

Kylikes, sixteen unpainted, and two painted.

Jugs, one with a cutaway neck and painted decoration; two other painted jugs,[5] and one unpainted jug.

Deep bowls or kraters, seven,[6] one decorated with concentric circles.

Cup, one small and unpainted, with a spreading rim.

Stirrup-vases, one small, of the Tell-el-Amarna type, and one large unpainted specimen of coarse ware.

There were also three terra-cotta figurines: a broken ox; and two women (one headless); h. 0·105 m., 0·11 m.; oval body, no arms, columnar stem, compare Tomb 521, no. 9, pl. XIX.

[1] Cf. *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 35, fig. 10. Payne (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 185) identifies this and a vase found by Schliemann (*Mycenae*, p. 68, fig. 80) as Corinthian.

[2] *B. S. A.*, XV, p. 154; Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[3] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 102. For Argive Orientalizing ware see Waldstein, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 126 ff.; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 109 ff.

[4] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 71.

[5] One is similar to Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 67, fig. 96.

[6] For the shape cf. *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. V.

Tomb 523 (fig. 18)

The entrance faces south, and is approached by a dromos 4·75 m. long, sloping slightly down to the door of the chamber, where it was wider (1·15 m.)

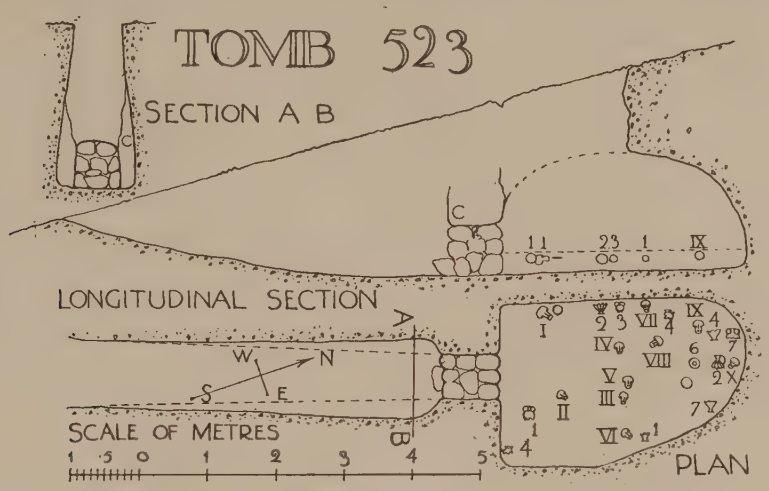

Fig. 18. Tomb 523, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

than at its outer end (1·05 m.). The doorway was 0·70 m. high, 0·90 m. deep, and closed by a stone wall. Just above and to the right of the door, 0·90 m. above the floor of the dromos, was an irregular cutting in the rock containing sherds of L.H. III pottery, mostly pieces of plain kylikes. This, c on plan (fig. 18), was probably a place for offerings.[1]

The chamber is strikingly long, and has an apse-shaped end to the north. The front part of the roof had collapsed, and in the fallen rock and earth were found sherds of later classical pottery, including a piece of the foot of a large black-figured vase, 1·20 m. above the floor in the centre of the chamber. Below 0·52 m. there were no Hellenic sherds.

The actual tomb layer, containing only Bronze Age sherds and bones, began at a level of about 0·30 m. above the floor. The skulls, nos. I–X, were found at different levels from 0·20 m. above the floor to floor level. The way in which they were scattered over the chamber suggested at once that the tomb had been thoroughly disturbed, and this was in fact confirmed by the other finds of bones and pottery. Leg and arm bones, ribs, jaw and pelvis bones, were spread in complete confusion round the skulls, and fragments of certain vases, especially 1, 2, and 4, occurred at different levels, and in different

[1] See below, p. 131.

parts of the chamber (see fig. 18). No metal objects of any importance were found. The original stratification was thus completely lost.

The distribution of the objects found was as follows: the chief fragments of a stirrup-vase (1) were found in the top layer about 0·20 m. above the floor. By the west wall were found: a shallow unpainted cup (7 *a*) with skull no. I, and to the north of it most of the fragments of the big painted jug (2), with bones and carbonized matter, other fragments being found at different levels in the north part of the chamber. In the same area, mixed up with fragments of 2, appeared the fragments of a stirrup-vase (3). The foot of an unpainted amphora (4) stood upright near skull no. IX, and other fragments were scattered about the chamber. Below skull no. IX lay, with one big sherd of the jug (2), an agate sealstone (9), 0·12 m. above the floor. The series of L.H. III pottery of the tomb was, apart from scattered sherds, completed by a painted saucer (5), a fragment of an unpainted shallow cup (7 *b*), and a stirrup-vase (6), which lay on the rock floor, the foot adhering to the north wall, while the top was in the north-east part of the chamber. Fifteen steatite spindle whorls of the usual conical type (18), four papyrus flower necklace ornaments of blue paste (12), some beads of paste (10) and glass (11, 13, 14), two small ivory discs (15), and the fragments of a plain bronze ring (17), occurred in the tomb at different levels, scattered, and in no clear connexion with skulls or other bones.

Finally, in the earth from the north-western part of this tomb which otherwise contained objects of L.H. III date only, a steatite sealstone (16) engraved with peculiar linear characters was found.

The fact that not a single Iron Age sherd was found in the tomb layer, that is, below 0·52 m. above the floor, seems to prove that the disturbance of the tomb took place in the Bronze Age before the fall of Mycenae, especially since the walling of the door was intact. All the vases found are of early L.H. III style and fabric, among which the stirrup-vases are particularly noticeable.

Finds

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Stirrup-vase, pl. XIX: h. 0·146 m.; high type with tapering lower body similar to no. 6; plastic ring on base; belts of broad and narrow lines round lower part of body; round upper part of body a band of vertical lines slightly curved; on shoulder groups of parallel wavy lines resembling chevrons.[1] L.H. III.

2. Jug with cutaway neck, pl. XX: h. 0·314 m.; plastic rings on lip, at foot of neck, and round base; body is ornamented with vertical lines sweeping gently from neck to

[1] For the shape and patterns compare Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 63, fig. 67, fig. 73, p. 120, fig. 114 (51 *a*), but the Knossian examples lack the plastic ring on the base.

base; broad lines alternate with groups of four narrow lines, the grained pattern; round base of neck row of dots; paint bright red and lustrous; metallic shape.[1] L.H. III.

3. Stirrup-vase, pl. XIX: h. 0·11 m.; globular, Tell-el-Amarna shape; thin and thick bands round body; two rows of conventionalized butterfly pattern on shoulder. L.H. III.

4. Three-handled amphora, pl. XIX: h. 0·173 m.; unpainted. L.H. III.

5. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. XIX: h. 0·037 m., d. 0·104 m.; handle missing; decorated with plain bands; reddish paint. L.H. III.

6. Stirrup-vase, pl. XIX: h. 0·183 m.; high type with tapering lower body like no. 1; plastic ring on base; belts of thin and thick lines round body; chevron pattern on shoulder. L.H. III.

7 *a*. Shallow cup, pl. XX: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; metallic profile; probably had two high handles rising slightly above rim. L.H. III.

7 *b*. Shallow two-handled cup, fragment like no. 7 *a*. L.H. III.

7 *c*. Shallow two-handled cup, fragment like no. 7 *a*. L.H. III.

8. Jug with horizontal lip, fragments: measurements unobtainable; like Tomb 533, no. 15 (pl. LVII). L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

9. Sealstone, agate, lentoid, pl. XX: d. 0·019 m.; engraved with design of heraldic type, two addorsed and rampant quadrupeds (lions? goats?), worn and indistinct.[2]

10. Beads of blue paste, shaped like grains of wheat, eleven, pl. XX: l. about 0·015 m.; fluted horizontally; similar beads from Tomb 520, no. 41 *f*, fig. 12, from the Tomb of Genii at Mycenae, and from Phaistos.[3]

11. Beads of glass, flattened spheroid, two, pl. XX: h. 0·005 m., 0·008 m.; ribbed vertically; slight ridge round middle; greenish-white.

12. Ornaments of blue paste, from necklace, papyrus flower type, four, pl. XX: l. 0·009 m., w. 0·01 m.; perforated lengthwise; gold beads of similar type from Asine.[4]

13. Beads of glass, spherical, two, pl. XX: d. 0·006 m.–0·008 m.; grey and brown.

14. Bead of glass, tubular pendant shape, pl. XX: l. about 0·04 m.; broken; decorated with a scale pattern.

15. Ivory discs, two, pl. XX: d. 0·015 m.; engraved as rosettes; remains of filling. A small fragment of a similar, but larger, disc was also found.

16. Sealstone, steatite, lentoid, pl. XX: d. 0·025 m., th. 0·005 m.; diametrically perforated; engraved with linear signs within a border of cuneiform design.[5]

17. Bronze ring, pl. XX: d. about 0·025 m.; broken.

18. Spindle whorls, steatite, fifteen: h. 0·01–0·016 m.; conical type; colours purple and green.

[1] Compare for shape and pattern Tomb 525, no. 1, pl. XLV, and Tomb 533, no. 19, pl. LVI. See also below, pp. 167, 174.

[2] See below, p. 203.

[3] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 380 ff., fig. 88, *a*, *o*; *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 141, fig. 100 *c*; see also below, p. 206.

[4] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXVIII, 1.

[5] See below, p. 203 f.

Tomb 524 (fig. 19)

The entrance faces south-west and is approached by a slightly sloping dromos, 5·30 m. long, 0·71 m. wide at its outer end, and 1·08 m. at the door of the

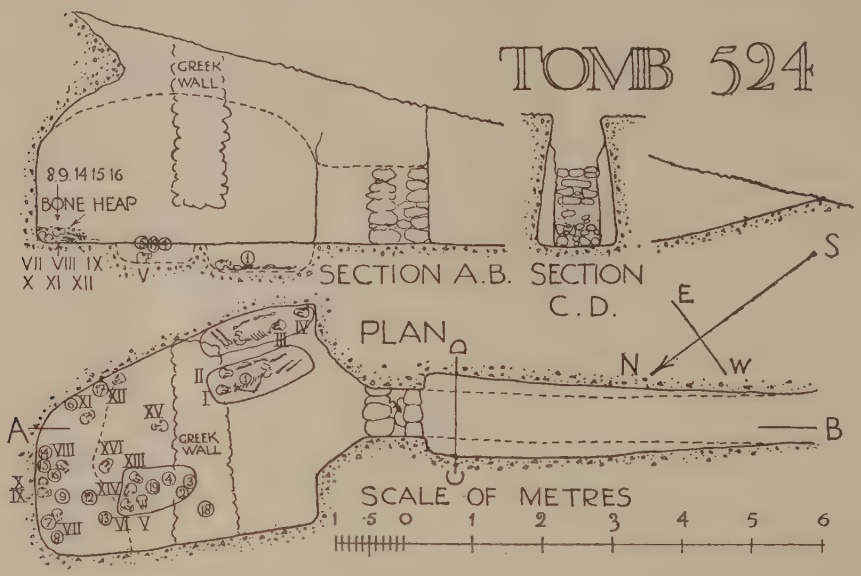

Fig. 19. Tomb 524, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

chamber. In the dromos a fair amount of simply painted or unpainted L.H. III pottery (all fragments) was found, including a female terra-cotta figurine of the columnar armless type. Pieces of kylikes and stirrup-vases were prominent. The doorway was closed by a double stone wall, imbedded in which was the base of an unpainted kylix (L.H. III). The top of the door and the whole roof of the chamber, which was roughly rectangular, had long since collapsed (fig. 19). Later, in the classical period, a wall was built right across the middle (0·75 m.–1·00 m. wide), obviously a supporting wall for some building above (fig. 19 and pl. XXI). In this upper level by the wall both early classical and Hellenistic potsherds were found. The lowest course of the wall was at a level of 0·50 m. above the floor of the chamber. In this stratum many fragments of L.H. III pottery were found. Noticeable are part of a small amphora and two kylikes. Below the level of about 0·30 m. above the floor Bronze Age pottery only was discovered. The plan and photograph (fig. 19 and pl. XXI) show clearly the distance between the actual tomb layer and the bottom of the Greek wall, which suggests that the tomb was not found and disturbed when the wall was built. This conclusion is supported by the condition of the remains of the skeletons, and of the relics in the tomb.

In the south corner of the chamber was a pit, 0·40 m. deep, well and clearly cut, and beside it a shallow shapeless hollow (fig. 19 and pl. XXI). Towards the north corner was another pit, 0·25 m. deep.

At the bottom of the regularly cut pit in the south corner lay two skulls, nos. I and II. With no. II there were only a few ribs, but skull no. I belonged to a skeleton in a perfectly traceable position, lying on its back with its head to the north. The left arm lay straight by the side, the right was laid on the body with the hand in the lap, and the knees were bent up (fig. 19). No offerings occurred in the pit except a duck (1), probably a model rhyton, at the floor level of the chamber. The shallow hollow in the south corner contained two skulls, nos. III and IV. Of these, skull no. III, the arm bones along the east side, the ribs on the west, the pelvis and the leg bones at the northern end obviously formed the remains of a skeleton with its head to the south and the knees bent up. There were no finds except scattered sherds, all of L.H. III date.

In the pit towards the north corner, 0·02 m. below the floor level of the chamber, was a bead of blue glass (32). In the earth which filled the pit, were three carnelian beads (28), and an ornament of glass paste (33), while an askos (4) lay 0·10 m. below the floor level of the chamber. The pit contained also two skulls, nos. V and VI, with some ribs and leg and arm bones mainly round skull no. V, above which lay the pieces of a feeding bottle (5). It was probably intended to receive two or more skeletons removed from their original position on the floor of the chamber. These are thus good examples of the different pits that occur in Late Helladic tombs, original burial pits as in the south corner, and a repository pit for removed interments, both bones and offerings. The stratification of the chamber itself also shows another way in which room was made for new interments.

On the floor of the chamber along the north-east wall lay a large pile of bones, about 0·20 m. high in the north corner where most of the bones were heaped. The limit of this heap to the south is roughly indicated by the dotted line on the plan (fig. 19). In this mingled mass of bones, shovelled together anyhow, skulls nos. VII–XII occurred at different levels, and also several funeral offerings. Along the north-east wall fragments of a red glazed cup (6) were found, and on the rock floor in the north corner stood another (7). Above it in the top layer of the bone-heap appeared with skull no. VII a cup (8), a mottled jug (9), and two small female figurines (25 *a*, *b*). On the rock to the south of skull no. VII lay a small jug (12), a stirrup-vase (13), and another small female figurine (25 *c*). The same area yielded a steatite spindle whorl of the usual conical shape (24), some black glass beads (31), and a fragment of a plain bone pin (29). About 0·30 m. from skull no. VII lay skull no. IX, practically on the floor, covered and surrounded by bones. A couple of small black

glass beads (31) were found with it. Next to no. IX, but 0·10 m. above the floor another skull, no. X, was found in a nest of ribs, and arm and leg bones, while forty-two small black beads of the same type (31) lay below and round it. Below skull no. X lay a female figurine (25 *d*), another duck rhyton (14), and a basket-shaped vase (15). Among the bones round the skull appeared two other female figurines (26), and two conical steatite spindle whorls (24).

At the lower or eastern end of the heap of piled up bones, two skulls, nos. XI and XII, lay on the floor. A conical steatite spindle whorl (24) and a stirrup-vase (17), on the top of the layer of bones, were the only finds in this area.

To the south of the pile of bones in the north part of the chamber the stratification was very clear. Only scattered sherds were found down to 0·15 m.–0·10 m. above the floor of the chamber, as the layer of fallen rock continued to this level. About 0·10 m. above the rock or 0·15 m. in the south part of the chamber where the rock slopes, a very distinct layer of black earth and bones with many fragments of pottery, all L.H. III, was spread over the floor. This layer contrasted strikingly with the pile at the north end. There all the bones were white. Here down to 0·05 m.–0·03 m. above the floor (0·10 m. in the south), all the bones were black, except skull no. XIV and a few bones just to the south of the heap at the north end. At the first glance this layer suggested comparison with a chamber tomb at Argos excavated by Vollgraff, where, according to his report,[1] a layer of charcoal and carbonized bones occurred. Investigation, however, seems to show that the black layer of this tomb is probably due to a fine penetrating smoke probably produced by some process of fumigation.[2] The black layer was specially thick round skull no. XV, and round a group of potsherds in the western part, among which were fragments of a jug (18). The black bones were fragmentary and decayed; not a single complete bone was found, and it was thus impossible to find out the original positions of the skeletons. Three black skulls were found, nos. XIII (close by the white skull no. XIV), XV, and XVI. It seems obvious that the black bones were the remains of several interments, and that the heap of bones in the northern part and perhaps the repository pit[3] contained skeletons, vases, and other relics removed to make room for them. The pottery of the black layer,

[1] *B. C. H.*, 1904, p. 391.

[2] Samples of the bones were submitted to expert chemists at Cambridge and Upsala, and to Mr. H. Terrey of University College, London, who agreed that they had not been cremated. Analysis showed no trace of calcination.

[3] It is, of course, quite probable that this pit contained bones removed to make room for interments, which in their turn were removed to the north part to make room for the interments of the black layer. It is, however, clear that the vases from this pit and the heap of bones at the north end represent somewhat older groups than the vases from the black layer.

as well as that of the heap of bones and of the pits, was of good L.H. III fabric. A terra-cotta female figurine (25 *e*) lay slightly to the north of skulls nos. XIII and XIV, and another with crescent arms (27) lay in the black layer of bones above the pit in the western part of the chamber. Round skull no. XVI a number of L.H. III sherds appeared, among which were fragments of a stirrup-vase (16) of the same type as 13, and the fragments of seven vases (3, 10, 11, 19–22). To the north of these finds a small stirrup-vase (2) occurred upside down among black bones, and there were kylix fragments against the west wall.

The thin layer between the black bones and the floor (0·03 m.–0·10 m. deep north to south) contained only scattered bones. They were distinctly white, like the bones of the pits described above.

The area in front of the door, and the west corner, were practically empty.

A small, broken, glass paste ornament (30) was found in sifting the earth from this tomb.

Finds

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Duck, probably model rhyton, pls. XXII, XXIII: l. 0·078 m.; two legs in front and a third under tail; handle on back; pattern of horizontal lines along body with vertical strokes between; cf. no. 14 below. *South Pit.* L.H. III.

2. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·07 m.; squat shape like no. 17, cf. Tomb 516, no. 9, pl. XXXII; paint in bad condition; pattern, round body wide and narrow lines, on shoulder conventionalized flowers. L.H. III.

3. Three-handled jug: h. 0·16 m.; unpainted; hydria type, shape similar to Tomb 521, no. 5, pl. XIX; upper part restored. L.H. III.

4. Askos, pl. XXII: l. 0·102 m.; pattern of horizontal wavy lines; similar to Tomb 521, no. 4, pl. XIX. *North Pit.* L.H. III.

5. Feeding bottle, pl. XXII: h. 0·12 m.; basket handle spanning neck; simple bands round body, round shoulder wavy line. *North Pit.* L.H. III.

6. Cup, tea-cup shape: h. 0·064 m., d. 0·068 m.; handle missing; thick rim; covered with red glaze paint; similar to no. 7, pl. XXII. L.H. III.

7. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. XXII: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·085 m.; vertical loop handle; thick rim; covered with red glaze paint; similar to no. 6. L.H. III.

8. Cup, bell-shaped, pl. XXII: h. 0·051 m., d. 0·083 m.; handle missing; ring base; round body pattern of linked spirals. L.H. III.

9. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XXII: h. 0·069 m.; covered with glaze paint with a mottled effect, varying in colour from red to brown-black. L.H. III.

10. Three-handled amphora, pl. XXII: h. 0·16 m.; simple painted bands round base, shoulder, and neck. L.H. III.

11. Jug with horizontal lip: h. 0·17 m.; unpainted. L.H. III.

12. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. XXII:

h. 0·088 m.; raised base; round body simple bands; row of vertical dashes radiating from base of neck. L.H. III.

13. Stirrup-vase, pl. XXII: h. 0·112 m.; globular, Tell-el-Amarna shape; wide bands round body with three belts of fine lines; on shoulder papyrus flowers; good fabric. L.H. III.

14. Duck, probably model rhyton, pls. XXII, XXIII: l. 0·101 m.; no legs; handle on back; pattern of horizontal lines along body with vertical strokes between; cf. no. 1. L.H. III.

15. Basket-shaped vase, pls. XXII, XXIII: h. 0·054 m., d. 0·051 m.; pattern of vertical wavy lines. L.H. III.

16. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·105 m.; much broken; globular shape; wide and narrow bands round body; conventionalized flowers on shoulder. L.H. III.

17. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·094 m.; squat shape like no. 2; wide and narrow bands round body, chevrons on shoulder. L.H. III.

18. Jug with horizontal lip: h. 0·194 m.; simple bands round body and base of neck. L.H. III.

19. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XXII: h. 0·21 m.; simple bands round neck, shoulder, and body. L.H. III.

20. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. XXII: h. 0·19 m.; paint in bad condition; simple bands round neck, shoulder, and body; narrow neck; small vertical handle. L.H. III.

21. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. XXII: h. 0·24 m.; paint in bad condition; simple bands on body and neck, spiral pattern on shoulder; narrow neck; small vertical handle. L.H. III.

22. Alabastron: h. 0·07 m. at least, d. 0·09 m.; high type; base and part of one side missing; plain bands round body and neck; chevrons between handles on shoulder. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

I. *From the Dromos.*

23. Spindle whorl, terra-cotta: h. 0·02 m.; shaped like two cones base to base.

II. *From the Chamber.*

24. Spindle whorls, steatite, conical, seven: h. 0·011 m.–0·018 m.; dark and pale green.

25 *a, b, c, d, e.* Terra-cotta figurines, female, five, pls. XXII, XXIII: h. 0·126 m., 0·106 m., 0·093 m., 0·103 m., 0·098 m.; solid stem; round body; arms not indicated; birdlike profile; hair hangs down back in a plait. L.H. III.

26 *a, b.* Terra-cotta figurines, female, two, pl. XXII: h. 0·10 m., 0·068 m.; solid stem; round body; hair not indicated down back; larger (*a*) has low polos-like headgear and had arms, now missing, folded across chest; smaller (*b*) had no arms. L.H. III.

27. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pls. XXII, XXIII: h. 0·123 m.; solid stem; crescent arms; wears polos; hair hangs down back in plait. L.H. III.

28. Carnelian beads: *a*, amygdaloid, two, l. 0·015 m., 0·018 m.; *b*, spherical, one, d. 0·004 m. *North Pit.*

29. Bone pin, fragments only.

30. Ornament of glass paste, from necklace, fragment measuring 0·07 m. by 0·013 m.; in middle same ivy-leaf pattern as on ornament of glass paste from Tomb VI at Argos;[1] surviving end perforated for threading.

31. Beads of glass, spherical, one hundred and ten whole specimens and many fragments: d. 0·006 m.–0·009 m.; blackish; from heap of bones in north part of chamber.

32. Bead of glass, spheroid: h. about 0·015 m.; broken; blue; ribbed decoration. *North Pit.*

33. Ornament of glass paste: l. 0·02 m., w. 0·005 m.; greenish-white; oblong, but one end is rounded and perforated, while other is straight and unperforated; obverse shows two spirals in relief with a horizontal raised rib between them and at unperforated end; in type this resembles an ornament from Tomb 4 at Thebes.[2] *North Pit.*

For Tombs 525–530 see South Bank, pp. 89 ff.

Tomb 531 (fig. 20).

The entrance faces south-west and is approached by a dromos about 9·50 m. long and 1·10 m. to 1·40 m. wide. It is narrow in proportion to its length, and is wedge-shaped in section. The doorway is 2·00 m. deep, 0·75 m. wide, and in its present condition about 2·75 m. high, but as the rock at the top of the door is very soft and has fallen away considerably, probably the original height was not much more than 2·00 m. It was blocked up by a rough stone walling which extended right through its depth, but was only 1·50 m. high. The rest of the aperture was occupied with earth and a few loose stones. The chamber is approximately square, measuring about 3·00 m. each way, and is 3·40 m. high. In the west corner is a small pit about 0·60 m. wide and 0·20 m. deep, which was found quite empty.

Sunk into a cutting, partly in the north-west side of the dromos and partly in the dromos itself, but with its bottom 1·00 m. above the floor, was a late grave, 0·95 m. wide and 1·47 m. long. This was composed of four thick slabs of *poros*, and had been roofed with two or three similar slabs of which only one still remained *in situ*. The others had obviously been displaced by previous finders, who had also removed anything of value or interest it had ever contained. From its type this grave is of Hellenistic or Roman date. In it we found only a few stray potsherds, one piece of L.H. III ware, one Proto-Corinthian fragment, four monochrome fragments, and part of the neck of a jug of coarse ware. The last five fragments are probably Hellenistic.

In the dromos, especially in front of the door, a considerable amount of

[1] *B.C.H.*, 1904. p. 387, fig. 24; cf. *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 160, fig. 119, 1.
[2] *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 133, fig. 98, 4.

broken pottery was found. It had probably been removed from the chamber by the disturbers of the tomb, which would account for its being found just in front of the door. Four vases could be restored, three stirrup-vases and

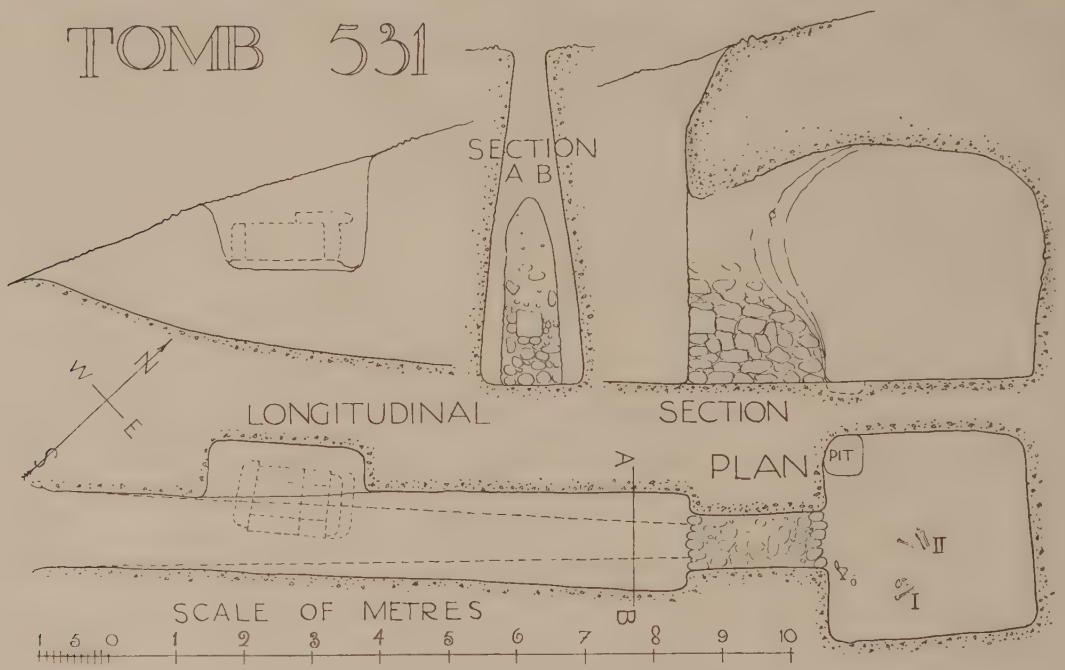

Fig. 20. Tomb 531, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

a shallow bowl (1, 2, 3, and 4), all found close in front of the doorway. The other pottery found there and in the rest of the dromos comprised kylikes (painted and unpainted) and deep bowls, both common shapes, unpainted bowls like 4, one piece of an alabastron, one of a mug, and one of a jug. There were two pieces of amphorae of coarse ware, and two of kraters with low stems, and a terra-cotta figurine (5). Other sherds included pieces of two handleless cups,[1] two fragments of Yellow Minyan goblets,[2] and two pieces of Matt-painted Ware, Group B. 1.[3] Thus, except for the last six pieces, all the pottery is of unmistakable L.H. III date and style.

Among the stones of the doorway more L.H. III pottery, much broken, of the same style, was found. Deep bowls and kylikes were again the commonest shapes, but the miscellaneous pieces included three fragments of jugs.

The chamber was almost entirely empty. There were apparently the remains of two skeletons lying on the floor where disturbers had left them

[1] Compare Tomb 521, no. 3, and see below, p. 184.
[2] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 43.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

(fig. 20). No. 1 consisted of arm-bones, a hand, and fragments of a skull. No. 11, which did not seem to have any connexion with no. 1, consisted of shin and heel bones and a few scraps of a skull. Pottery was scarce in the chamber. We found only seven fragments of deep bowls, one piece of a painted and four pieces (the best (6) being found just within the door) of unpainted kylikes, and three odd fragments of L.H. III ware.

The absence of any pottery later than L.H. III from the dromos and chamber, in spite of the late tomb above the former, seems to show that the removal of the contents of the tomb took place during or at the end of the L.H. III period. Had the removal occurred later, we should have expected to find Geometric pottery at least in the dromos, when so much Geometric ware was found in Tomb 522. From the plan and shape of the tomb, which closely resembles those of Tombs 519 and 525, we conclude that it was made in L.H. III. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, except for two M.H. sherds and four possible pieces of L.H. II, all the pottery found in chamber or dromos is of L.H. III style and fabric.

Finds

I. *From the Dromos.*

A. *Pottery.*

1. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·11 m.; globular, Tell-el-Amarna shape; bands round body, chevrons on shoulder. L.H. III.

2. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·065 m.; globular, similar to no. 1; flowers on shoulder. L. H. III.

3. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·10 m.; similar to no. 2 in shape, style, and patterns. L.H. III.

4. Shallow bowl: h. 0·055 m., d. 0·14 m.; unpainted; horizontal ribbon handles, now missing. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

5. Terra-cotta figurine, ox: l. 0·11 m.; three legs and the tail missing. L.H. III.

II. *From the Chamber.*

Pottery.

6. Kylix, fragment only: measurements unobtainable; unpainted; probably had two high swung handles. L.H. III.

B. The South Bank

Tomb 513 (fig. 21).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a dromos about 9·40 m. long and narrowing from 1·00 m. to 0·90 m. in width, which slopes downwards to the door of the tomb, and is wedge-shaped in section. The door was 1·50 m.

deep, and 0·80 m. wide and originally about 1·61 m. high. It seems to have been rectangular, but the rock directly above the door was soft and has fallen

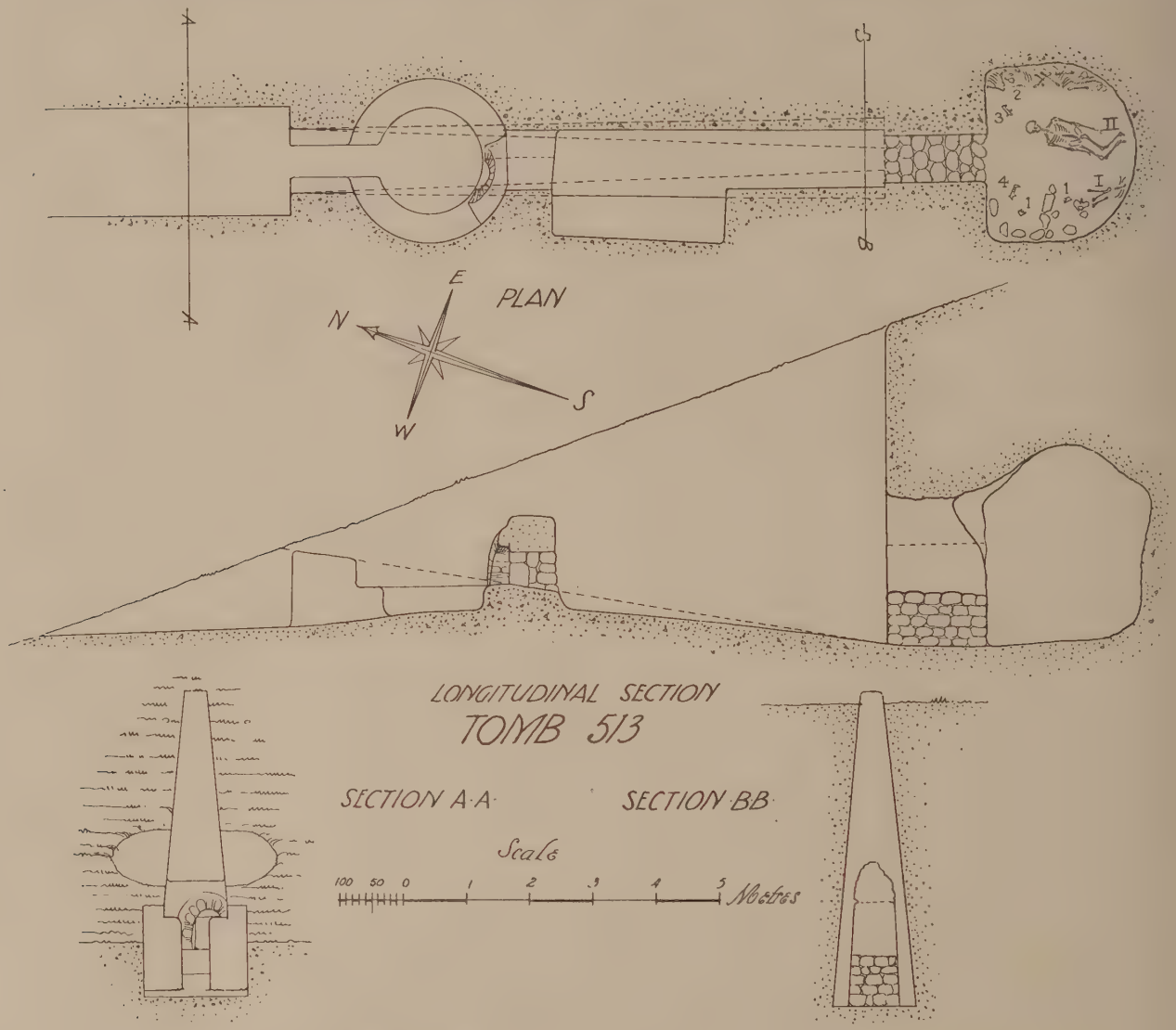

Fig. 21. Tomb 513, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

away, thus making it difficult to determine both the exact height and the exact shape of the door. It was blocked with rough walling which extended through its complete depth about 0·80 m. high. The chamber is rectangular with two rounded corners, and measures about 2·30 m. by 2·75 m., and is about 3·00 m. high.

At the northern end of the dromos at some later period, possibly in Hellenistic times, a circular kiln was dug out (fig. 21 and pl. XXIV). This was probably begun without any knowledge that a tomb or dromos existed here at all. The kiln has an entrance 0·50 m. wide to the north with an outer approach about 4·00 m. long and 1·70 m. wide, and is dug out to a depth of 0·50 m. to 1·00 m. below the level of the dromos floor. Inside the kiln is a rock-cut bench about 0·40 m. wide and high. In the south side of the kiln the opening made by the dromos is blocked up by rubble-work of stones and broken tiles mortared together and covered over with rough plaster so as to make a kind of arch as seen in section A A in fig. 21. This is about 0·50 m. wide and 0·60 m. high inside, its outside width being 1·00 m., and it projects, standing on the rock-cut bench mentioned, 0·30 m. inwards from the wall of the kiln. To the south of this there was made, with the assistance of part of the dromos, a rectangular pit about 1·55 m. wide and 2·82 m. long on the west, and 3·50 m. long on the east. Though the sides of the kiln show plentiful traces of fire, especially on the sides of the bench near the arch, nothing was found which could give a clue to its use. No signs of lime-burning or of broken pottery were found by it or within it. The rectangular chamber behind was obviously cut out to provide a proper draught, to ensure the regular combustion of whatever was placed in the kiln. This was probably made in late Hellenistic times, for, apart from a few casual sherds of L.H. III pottery, the only other sherds found in the dromos were half a dozen pieces of late Hellenistic ware.

In the chamber on either side of the door to right and left lay two terra-cotta figurines of men driving oxen (3, 4). Along the east wall of the chamber was a heap of bones in disorder, much decayed and broken. No skull was recognized among them, but with them towards the north-east corner lay a jug with stirrup handle (2). In the western part of the tomb lay the remains of a skeleton, no. 1, considerably disturbed by the fall of stones from the roof, and perhaps by members of the family entering over the blocking wall of the doorway. By this lay the greater part of a small three-handled amphora (1). Finally, in the middle of the southern part of the tomb lay the remains of the last interment, a skeleton, no. 11, which had been laid in the usual reclining position with the head slightly raised, the knees bent upwards, and the feet against the south wall. The bones were in a much decayed condition, but enough was visible to determine the general position of the skeleton. Several steatite spindle whorls (9) were found in the north-west corner near the terra-cotta ox (4), but most of the beads and other small finds came to light in sifting the earth found near the two last-mentioned skeletons which seem to represent the two latest interments in the tomb, that in the middle being the latest of all. The pile of bones along the east wall obviously represents the remains of the first

tenants of the tomb who were pushed aside to make room for the later comers. In the chamber, in addition to the two complete vases (1, 2), only a few miscellaneous sherds of L.H. III ware were found. None of them was of any size or importance. From the plan and shape of the tomb as well as from the objects found within it, there seems no doubt that it dates from the L.H. III period. We shall see that in type it corresponds well with Tombs 519 and 525, both of which were first made and used in the same period.

Finds

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Three-handled amphora, pl. xxxii: h. 0·11 m.; between handles round body two sets of concentric semicircles between two chequer patterns; dark brown solid colour on neck and base; good fabric. L.H. III.

2. Jug with stirrup handle, pls. xxv, xxxii: h. 0·065 m.; wide and narrow lines round body; the two central narrow lines are joined at intervals by groups of nine short vertical lines; on neck wavy lines; on shoulder rope pattern; red paint on buff slip; good, delicate fabric. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

3. Terra-cotta figurine of man driving ox, pl. xxiv: l. 0·11 m., h. 0·08 m.; man's body is placed on ox's hind quarters; similar to no. 4. L.H. III.

4. Terra-cotta figurine of man driving ox, pl. xxiv: l. 0·11 m., h. 0·08 m.; man's body is placed on ox's hind quarters; similar to no. 3. L.H. III.

5. Ivory discs, pl. xxv: *a*, engraved as rosette, one, d. 0·012 m.; *b*, unengraved, one, d. 0·014 m.; both pierced through centre.

6. Beads of glass, round and flat like washers, eighty-seven (one broken), pl. xxv: d. 0·002 m.–0·005 m.; some have serrated, some plain edges: *a*, grey, sixty-six; *b*, red, yellow, blue, brown, or white, twenty-one.

7. Sealstone, carnelian, flattened cylinder, pl. xxv: l. 0·013 m.; engraved with design of long horned deer running to the left with upturned head.

8. Gold ring, pl. xxv: d. 0·017 m.; plain; thin.

9. Spindle whorls, steatite, fifteen, pl. xxv: h. 0·01 m.–0·013 m., d. 0·011 m.–0·018 m.; blackish, yellow, green, or brown, thirteen, red, two. In the typological series one extreme is the conical type (six specimens) with steep sides and flat base; the other (few examples) is the button type with indented base and short shank. The intermediate examples show a progressive development from the conical type, shading almost imperceptibly one into the other till the button type is evolved.

Tomb 514 (fig. 22).

The entrance faces north and is approached by a dromos about 5·00 m. long and 0·75 m. to 0·90 m. wide with sides that slope slightly inwards towards the top, but it is not markedly wedge-shaped in section. The doorway is of

the same width as the dromos and only 0·50 m. deep. It was blocked by rough stone walling which reached to its top, which was about 1·25 m. above the level of the floor. The chamber is irregular in shape, and measures 3·00 m. by

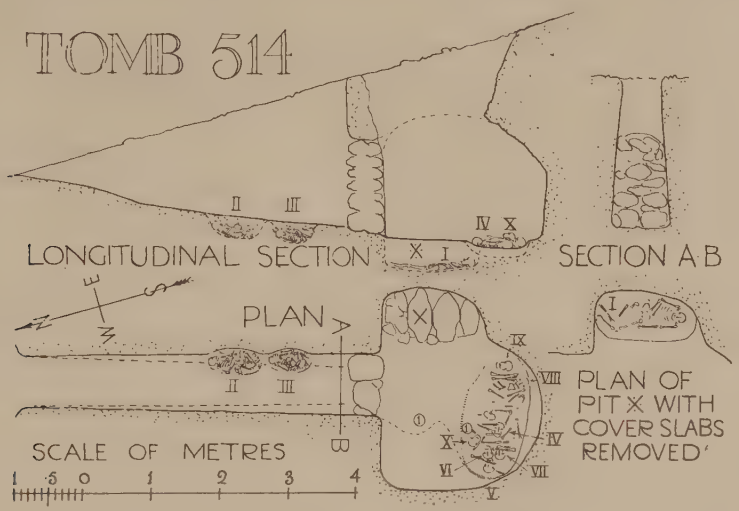

Fig. 22. Tomb 514, Plans and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

2·50 m. The roof had collapsed. In digging away the earth and fallen rock above the chamber we found an Orientalizing skyphos of local fabric about 0·50 m. below the surface. It has of course nothing to do with the tomb.

Against the east wall of the dromos about 0·50 m. from the door we found two small pits cut out in the floor, each about 0·60 m. long, 0·35 m. wide, and 0·30 m. to 0·40 m. deep. These pits contained the bones of at least two adult skeletons, nos. II and III, and one of the skulls, no. II, was that of a young male. The bones no longer lay in their natural order, and so it seems obvious that the skeletons were not in their first place of interment. The skulls and other bones were, however, all packed carefully together. They probably had been removed from the chamber to make room for other interments, and we may therefore consider these as the remains of two of the earliest burials in the tomb. A little miscellaneous pottery was found in the dromos, but the only pieces worth noting were part of an early L.H. III kylix painted with a net pattern, and the head of an ordinary L.H. III terra-cotta female figurine.

In the chamber there is on the east side a pit cut out in the rock floor, 1·50 m. long, 0·75 m. wide, and 0·50 m. deep. It was roofed with limestone slabs, which were still *in situ* (fig. 22 and pl. XXVI). In the pit lay one skeleton, no. I, that of a young adult female, as might be judged also by the small objects found with it. The body had been placed in the usual reclining attitude with the head

slightly raised and the knees bent upwards. The left hand lay by the side, but the right lay in the lap. Round the neck was a small string of beads of glass (2), and on the left hand were two silver rings (3). No vases or vase fragments were found in the pit at all. This probably was the earliest burial in the tomb, which had not been disturbed when later burials took place above it. In the southern part of the chamber was a great heap of bones lying pell-mell in a kind of hollow on the floor (fig. 22 and pl. xxvi). With these bones were seven skulls. Presumably this heap of bones represents the remains of seven persons, nos. iv–x, who had from time to time been buried in the tomb, and then swept aside to the south to make room for others. No. iv was an adult male and no. x an adult male of advanced age. No pottery was found in the chamber except a few pieces of a large painted L.H. III kylix (1) (pl. xxxii). Although the shape of the tomb differs from that of typical L.H. III tombs, like Tombs 519 and 525, still we probably should assign it to the same period, for no pottery earlier than L.H. III was found either in dromos or in chamber. It deserves to be noted that here, although all the earlier interments had apparently been removed or brushed aside to make ready for newcomers and the walling of the door was intact, no skeleton was found lying *in situ* on the floor with its funeral offerings round it.

Finds

I. *From the Chamber.*

Pottery.

1. Kylix, pl. xxxii : d. at least 0·17 m. ; part only ; chevron pattern in red paint on pink biscuit ; good fabric. L.H. III.

II. *From the Pit in the Chamber.*

Miscellaneous Objects.

2. Beads of glass : *a*, spherical, twenty-eight, d. 0·005 m., bluish-white ; *b*, pear-shaped, one, l. 0·014 m., bluish-white.

3. Silver rings, two : d. about 0·02 m. ; compare the silver rings from Dimeni.[1]

Tomb 515 (fig. 23).

The entrance faces north and is approached by a short, wide dromos of curious shape. The whole dromos is 8·75 m. long, but 6·25 m. from its beginning or north end the side walls are set in about 0·50 m. Thence the dromos continues for 2·50 m. more before reaching the actual door of the tomb chamber. The north part of the dromos is 2·00 m.–2·75 m. wide, and the inner part 2·00 m.–

[1] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3387.

2·50 m. wide. The dromos slopes down to the door of the tomb from its entrance, where there are remains of steps cut in the rock as in Tombs 516 and 529 (figs. 24, 41). The middle of the innermost part of the dromos is for a dis-

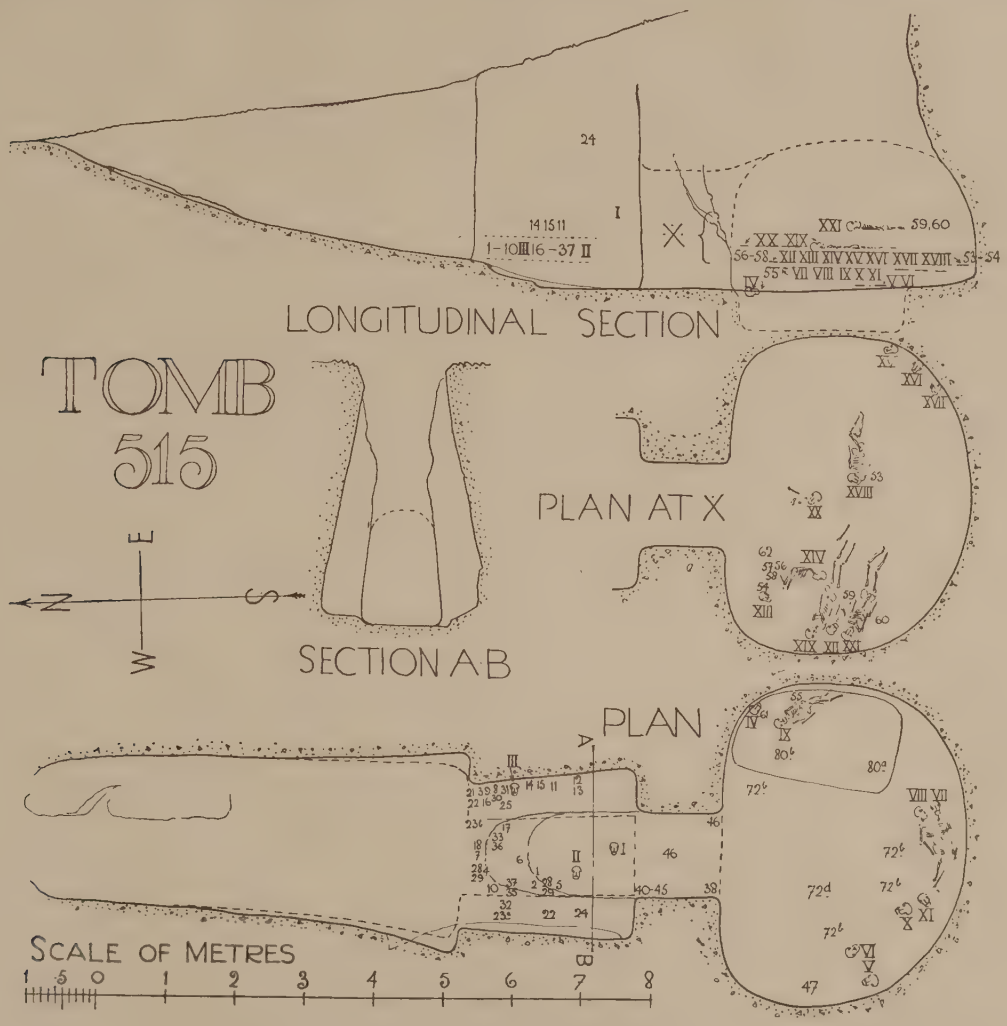

Fig. 23. Tomb 515, Plans and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

tance of about 2·50 m. from the door of the chamber, and for a space corresponding to the width of the door, cut out some 0·30 m. deeper than the rest. A similar peculiarity is to be noticed in Tomb 529. The doorway is about 1·20 m. deep and 1·20 m. wide, and the chamber, which is roughly oval, measures about 4·50 m. by 3·50 m., and though no certainty is obtainable, as the roof had collapsed, was probably about 2·00 m. high, while the door was most likely

under that figure. The rock is very soft and the door jambs towards the chamber seem to have been repaired with small stones packed with the usual tough yellow clay. The small depth of the doorway in proportion to the size of the dromos and chamber is very striking and is to be noticed also in Tombs 529 and 530. Further, as in the two latter tombs, the dromos is very wide and in section is not of a narrow wedge shape, but wider and more arched. We find traces of these same characteristics also in Tombs 516, 517, and 518 (figs. 24, 27, 29). As we shall see when we come to speak of these and of 529 and 530, all five of these tombs were first used either in L.H. I or L.H. II. As this one, Tomb 515, also contained L.H. II pottery and other objects, we may probably draw a distinction in shape between L.H. I–II tombs and L.H. III tombs. The former are distinguished by a wide arched dromos rather short in proportion to its width, and a shallow doorway. The latter have a long narrow dromos of a carefully cut wedge shape, and a deep doorway. The difference is best observed by contrasting the plans of Tombs 525 and 529 (figs. 37, 41). This difference in shape between the tombs of these periods occurs elsewhere in the Argolid, for the large chamber tomb found by the Swedish Expedition at Asine is of this L.H. I–II type, and the earliest pottery in it is L.H. II.[1]

The greater part of the east side of the chamber is occupied by a large pit measuring about 2·25 m. by 1·30 m. and 0·55 m. deep.

In clearing the dromos the first sign that we probably had an important tomb before us, was the finding of a granulated gold bead (24) and a broken amethyst bead (29 *a*), about 1·50 m. from the top of the cutting in the inner part of the dromos near the point marked (fig. 23). Lower down were some miscellaneous sherds and the fragments of an unpainted kylix (11), a dipper (14), and a scoop (15) probably for carrying charcoal. Running across the dromos in front of the door was an irregular mass of stones about 0·50 m. thick and 1·20 m. high, probably the remains of the closing of the door which was not otherwise built up. In any case this mass was far from regular and has therefore been omitted from the plan. Just under its uppermost stones was a broken skull, no. 1, and other bones, and at a depth of about 2·50 m. in the south-east corner among the stones, fragments of two scoops for charcoal (12, 13) were found. The excavation of the dromos was difficult because, owing to the softness of the rock and the great similarity between it and the packed earth which largely consisted of powdered rock, it was not easy to find the lines of the original cutting, and the irregularity of the pile of stones before the door, which could not in any way be described as built, obscured the outlines. Then

[1] Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund.*, 1922–3, p. 34; Frödin-Persson, *ibid.*, 1924-5, p. 80, pl. XVIII; see below, pp. 124, 126.

at a depth of about 2·50 m. from the top of the dromos wall, we came on a layer of soft black earth which filled the lower levels of the innermost part of the dromos south of the setback, and in this we found vases, jewellery, and other small objects (1–10, 16–37). The places where they lay are indicated on the plan (fig. 23), except in cases where fragments were much scattered. One of the gems with the Goddess of the Double Axe (32) lay on the west side, and the other (31) lay on the east side. It has been suggested that they may have been so placed with some ritual purpose, perhaps to extend the protection of the goddess to the deceased in the lower world. In view of other considerations it is more likely that their positions were quite accidental. With the vases were the remains of two skeletons, nos. II and III, whose bones lay in no sort of order and were much broken. Skeleton no. II had no skull, though a few teeth were found with it; and so it is just possible that skull no. I found among the stones before the door may have belonged to this skeleton. With the exception of the unpainted kylix (11) found above this deposit, and perhaps the dipper and the charcoal scoops (12–15), all the pottery found here is of L.H. II date. The same may be said of the gems, jewellery, and other small objects which seem to correspond with the finds from the Vaphio tomb.[1] We have here then the remains of two L.H. II burials, which had been cleared out of the chamber to make room for other interments and partially plundered in the process.[2] Traces of similar action were observed in Tombs 517, 529, and 530, and possibly in Tomb 533 as well. When we have described the finds in the chamber, we shall be in a position to judge when this may have occurred.

In the doorway there was no sign of any regular walling. On the rock floor was a layer of black earth some 0·20 m. thick, similar to that which contained the deposit in the dromos. Here were found some worked boar's tusks (46), part of a necklace[3] of amethysts (41), two fine unengraved onyx beads (42, 43), and other miscellaneous objects including a bronze arrow-head (38) with part of another. All these objects seem to be of L.H. II date. Amethyst beads are constantly found in tombs of that period, for instance at Vaphio and Kakovatos.[4] Boar's tusks from helmets occur in the Shaft Graves, and in early L.H. II tombs like those of Kakovatos.[5] Thus these objects, probably part of the same interments as the finds in the dromos, may have been accidentally dropped when the L.H. II interments, the earliest in the tomb, were removed to make room for others. Just within the south-east door

[1] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, pp. 129 ff., pls. VII–X. [2] See below, pp. 130, 137, 145.

[3] An amethyst bead (29 *b*) found on the floor of the dromos in the south-west angle probably belongs to this necklace.

[4] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, p. 144; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 295; see below, p. 208.

[5] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 272; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 292; see below, pp. 212 ff.

jamb, a small gold rosette (72 *b*), like others from the chamber, was found on the floor.

In the chamber we may consider the pit in the north-east corner as the earliest interment, unless indeed it was intended to hold several bodies. In it were a flint arrow-head (75), two fragments of amber (78), and an amethyst bead (77) similar to those from the dromos and the doorway (29, 41). Another flint arrow-head (66), an amethyst (70), and an amber bead (69) were found just above the floor of the chamber in different places. It thus looks as if the pit had once contained L.H. II interments, the *disiecta membra* of which were found in the dromos and doorway. On the other hand, the gold rosettes, embossed strips, and beads from the south end of the pit, and the curled leaf ornaments in gold from the north end seem to belong to an early interment, for they lay on the floor of the pit, and had been overlooked by those who had removed its contents. With the curled leaf ornaments in gold were some fragments of similar ornaments in glass paste, such as are common in L.H. III tombs,[1] but both materials probably belong to the same necklace, for gold and glass paste were often combined to form necklaces, as illustrated by the finds from Tomb V at Asine.[2] All these, however, hardly seem as early as the other objects from the pit and those from the dromos and doorway. Either the interments in the pit would have fallen late in the L.H. II period, which hardly seems likely in view of the similarity between some of the finds and those from Vaphio and Kakovatos, or the original L.H. II interments in the pit may have been removed to accommodate an early L.H. III interment. It is, of course, possible that the curled leaf ornaments in glass began to be made before the end of L.H. II. But there is yet another possibility. The pit may not have been dug when the tomb was made, and the earliest, the L.H. II interments, may have been merely laid on the rock floor, and later removed to the dromos to make room to cut out the pit for an early L.H. III interment. The gold rosettes, as shown by the holes pierced round their edges, were clearly meant to be sewn on to clothes, and were found all close together, overlapping one another, and in some cases doubled up as though caught in the folds of a garment.[3]

On and just above the floor of the chamber were scattered the fragments of a number of vases, of which six have been put together more or less complete (47–52). These are all of good L.H. III style, and probably belonged to the interments which succeeded the L.H. II burials. When these early L.H. III burials were in their turn pushed aside to make room for still later comers, the

[1] *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 400 f.; see below, pp. 192 ff., 220.
[2] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund.*, 1924–5, p. 90.
[3] See below, p. 195 f.

vases with them were broken. The scattered potsherds were all L.H. III,[1] and included both early and late styles. At this level most of the gold rosettes (72) were found scattered here and there in the earth about the chamber, only a few being with the upper layer of skeletons, nos. XII–XVIII. As far as we could tell no early L.H. III burial was found in its original position. Skull no. IV, which lay above the north-west corner of the pit with other bones and a late L.H. III vase (61), seemed to have been pushed aside, and it is therefore doubtful whether the vase belongs to it or not. Skulls nos. V and VI, which also lay just above the floor, from the position of the bones round them, had also been similarly treated, but skeletons nos. VII and VIII, which like nos. IX, X, and XI were at a higher level about 0·20 m.–0·30 m. above the floor, lay side by side as they had originally been placed in the tomb, and the same may be said of skeleton no. IX. It may be that the skeletons represented by skulls nos. IV, V, and VI were disturbed not merely by being swept aside to make space for later comers, but from having been turned over in search of valuable or useful objects by those who came to bury nos. VII–IX. In the case of no. IX, since the skeleton lay above the pit, we can conclude that the contents had been removed before the date of this burial. With skeleton no. IX was a small vase (55) (pl. XXXI), which in style is not far removed from the vases (pls. XI, XII) of the latest interment in Tomb 502 (nos. 5–12), and belongs to the Granary Class. It is a L.H. III vase, although it falls very late in that period, and we thus see that the contents of the pit had been removed before the end of L.H. III. Possibly the last disturbers of the pit were those who buried no. IX, and in doing so they may have pushed no. IV into the corner. Skeleton no. IX lay on its back with the head slightly raised on a large stone as a pillow. It is clear that the head was raised since the skull was found to have settled on to the ribs. The arms were apparently stretched out by each side, and the knees had been slightly drawn up. Below the bones was a layer of stones which seemed to have been put there as a kind of bed.[2] Both skull and bones were badly crushed by stones that had fallen on them. Apparently, after one of these tombs had been in use for some years, parts of the roof gradually fell off from time to time owing to the softness of the rock, and covered the skeletons and objects in the tomb with earth and stones.[3] Skulls nos. X and XI seemed also to belong to skeletons that had been pushed aside, to judge by the position of the bones with them.

Some 0·20 m. above the level of these last skeletons, another layer of burials

[1] These comprised stirrup-vases, deep bowls, and other painted ware, unpainted kylikes similar to nos. 48, 49, and 52, but without incrustation, a jug like no. 58 with a rude spiral pattern and jars like nos. 54 and 55.

[2] See below, p. 140.

[3] It seems possible that sometimes the remains of an earlier interment may have been deliberately covered with earth by the family in preparing the tomb for a later occupant. See below, p. 141.

was found. These seem to have taken place not long after the earlier series had been covered by falls of earth and stones from the face of the soft rock. In this layer two of the earliest were nos. XII and XIII. The latter, by which lay a pair of bronze tweezers (62) and a small jar of the Granary Class (54), seems to have been disturbed when no. XIV, which was the skeleton of a half-grown child for the skull was very thin, was laid by and above it. This last, no. XIV, was accompanied by three vases, all of the Granary Class (56, 57, 58). Similarly skeleton no. XII seems to have suffered when nos. XIX and XXI were laid near and above it. Skulls nos. XV, XVI, and XVII with the bones piled round them represent skeletons which were swept aside to make room for others. Probably skeleton no. XVIII was a newcomer for whom room had to be provided. With no. XVIII were a late stirrup-vase (53), a gold rosette (72 *b*), and a faience bead (71 *c*), but the presence of these two latter near the bones may have been accidental. The next three skeletons lay some 0·20 m.–0·30 m. higher. It is clear that after the burial of the series that ended with no. XVIII, the soft rock of the roof must have begun to fall in fairly rapidly, for skeletons nos. XIV and XVIII and the vases with them, had been badly crushed by stones and lumps of rock. Thus when the next skeleton no. XIX was laid in the tomb by the side of and above no. XII, the latter was not so much disturbed. Skull no. XX was found at the same level as no. XIX, but the bones belonging to it could not be identified; probably the skull had been moved on some occasion when the tomb was reopened. The last interment is represented by skeleton no. XXI, which lay in the west part of the chamber by the side of and above XII and XIX. Like no. XIX it rested on decomposed pieces of the soft rock fallen away from the roof and sides. On either side of the skeleton lay a small vase, a deep bowl (59) on its left, and a little jug (60) on its right, both of which belong to the Granary Class. We thus see that this tomb, like Tomb 502, continued in use right up to the very end of the third Late Helladic period. That a large family sepulchre of this type first used in L.H. II continued in use as long as the L.H. III culture survived, even in so late a form as the Granary Class which was the style of pottery in use at the time of the fall of Mycenae,[1] probably in the twelfth century, is important as proving that there was no break either in population or culture between L.H. II and L.H. III. So far as we could see, for the bones were often badly crushed and disturbed by the fall of the roof, all the skeletons in this tomb that were found as their relatives had laid them many centuries ago, lay in the usual attitude, that of skeleton no. IX.

[1] *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 30.

Finds

1. *From the Dromos.*

A. *Pottery.*

1. Three-handled amphora, pl. xxviii : h. 0·195 m. ; tall slender form which does not swell out too abruptly upwards ; neck and base decorated with solid colour, lower part of body with broad and narrow lines, upper part covered with network pattern ; on rim row of dots ; good fabric. L.H. II.

2. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0·085 m., d. 0·18 m. ; on base wheel pattern ; on body continuous wave pattern running into high crests between handles ; pattern edged with row of dots ; two rows of dots round base of neck. L.H. II.

3. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0·085 m., d. 0·195 m. ; patterns on base and body similar to that of no. 2, but no dots round base of neck, and wave crests between handles higher with short double row of dots on each side. L.H. II.

4. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : 0·06 m., d. 0·15 m. ; patterns on base and body similar to that of no. 3, but no dots along edge of waves. L.H. II.

5. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0·07 m., d. 0·145 m. ; patterns on base and body similar to that of no. 4. L.H. II.

6. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0·055 m., d. 0·165 m. ; patterns on base and body similar to that of no. 5, but no dots at all. L.H. II.

7. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0·09 m., d. 0·195 m. ; wheel pattern on base, continuous wave pattern similar to that of no. 3 on lower part of body, two oblique rows of dots on each side of wave crest between handles ; row of dots round base of neck. L.H. II.

8. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0·08 m., d. 0·15 m. ; concentric circles on base ; round lower part of body continuous wave pattern from which ivy leaves rise between handles. L.H. II.

9. Alabastron, pl. xxvii : h. 0.045 m., d. 0·07 m. ; patterns similar to those of preceding, no. 8, on base and body. L.H. II.

10. Askos, pl. xxvii : h. 0·12 m., d. 0·165 m. ; unpainted ; buff ware. L.H. II.

11. Kylix, pl. xxvii : h. 0·155 m., d. 0·175 m. ; unpainted ; two small vertical ribbon handles just under rim, one is missing. L.H. III.

12. Ladle or scoop, pl. xxvii : h. 0·055 m., l. 0·15 m. ; unpainted ; coarse brick-red ware ; probably used as a brazier for carrying burning charcoal. L.H. II–III.

13. Ladle or scoop, pl. xxvii : h. 0·06 m., l. 0·14 m. ; similar to no. 12. L.H. II–III.

14. Dipper, pl. xxxi : h. (of bowl) 0·065 m., d. 0·16 m. ; unpainted ; low spout on one side, high swung handle rising high above rim on other ; good pinkish-buff ware. L.H. III.

15. Ladle or scoop : h. 0·05 m., d. 0·095 m. ; similar to nos. 12 and 13, but handle missing. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

16. Spindle whorl, terra-cotta, shanked, button type, pl. xxviii : h. 0·04 m., d. 0·085 m. ; covered with fine buff slip and painted in red ; on shank and upper side concentric circles, on under side design of one small and three large lilies. L.H. II.

17. Bronze knife, two fragments, pl. XXIX: total length 0·085 m.; tip missing; five rivets for handle.

18. Bronze knife, three fragments, pl. XXIX: total length 0·07 m.; tip missing; three rivets for handle.

19. Bronze awl, pl. XXIX: l. 0·083 m.; one end flattened; shaft thickened in centre; upper end rectangular in section, possibly for insertion in a wooden or bone handle.

20. Bronze scale pan, pl. XXIX: d. at least 0·07 m.; broken; hole for suspension bored in edge.

21. Silver, about ten fragments, probably from a cup or bowl, very badly oxidized.

22. Boar's tusks, cut and worked, two, pl. XXIX: l. about 0·075 m.; pierced through under edges for attachment probably by sewing. Their use to form a protective covering for leather helmets is illustrated by ivory heads from Spata and Mycenae,[1] a fresco from Mycenae,[2] and an engraved gem, Tomb 518, no. 65 (pl. XXXVIII). Similarly worked tusks from Spata, Menidi, Orchomenos, Troy,[3] Mycenae, Tombs 31 and 75, and elsewhere.[4] Another type, apparently older, occurs in the Fourth Shaft Grave[5] and Tomb 518, no. 59.[6]

23. Arrow-heads, pl. XXIX: *a.* obsidian, two, l. 0·025 m., 0·034 m., the larger incomplete; *b.* flint, one, l. 0·035 m. All three have curved barbs and no tang; compare no. 75; similar type from Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae, from Vaphio, from Kakovatos, and elsewhere.[7]

24. Gold bead, round, pl. XXIX: d. about 0·015 m.; slightly crushed and split; made in two pieces soldered together; round middle double line of granulated work, each grain being attached separately; each half is decorated with five granulated circlets, the centres of which were filled with blue paste; similar in design to gold beads from Vaphio[8] (blue paste not preserved) and the Argive Heraion, and to another from Mycenae[9] (blue paste preserved) of different shape.

25. Gold stud, pl. XXIX: d. 0·016 m.; with four pins round the edge below; probably stud off hilt of some weapon or other wooden object; similar stud from Vaphio.[10]

26. Gold leaf, one fragment, crumpled.

27. Spindle whorl, terra-cotta, conical, pl. XXIX: d. 0·019 m.; edge of base bevelled; covered with gold foil, even in the perforation; similar whorl from Spata.[11]

28. Amber beads, twenty-two and several fragments, pl. XXIX: d. 0·01 m.–0·02 m.; various shapes, conoid, discoid, spheroid, but none is particularly large. L.H. II.

29. Amethyst beads: *a.* spherical, one, d. 0·008 m., found with gold bead, no. 24, and

[1] Spata, *B.C.H.*, 1878, pl. XVIII, 2; Mycenae, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, pl. VIII, 12.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, pl. XII.

[3] Spata, *B.C.H.*, 1878, p. 224; Menidi, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2002; Orchomenos, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3291; Troy, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 4526.

[4] See below, pp. 212 ff.

[5] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 272.

[6] See below, p. 85.

[7] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 272, fig. 435 = Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 113, nos. 536–40, pl. CI; Vaphio, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1846; Kakovatos, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pl. XV, 1-9. See *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 223, and below, p. 222 f.

[8] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, pl. VII, 7, p. 151.

[9] Tomb 55, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2845; Stais, *Coll. Mycénienne*[2], p. 89; see below, p. 192.

[10] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1827.

[11] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2153.

five fragments of larger beads found with rest of deposit; *b.* spherical, pl. xxix, one, d. 0·012 m., unpolished, found close to floor.

30. Beads of glass, spherical: *a.* seven of varying size, d. 0·007 m.–0·02 m., greenish-white to grey in colour; *b.* four small, d. 0·003 m., one has two segments,[1] colour pale blue.

31. Sealstone, carnelian, lentoid, pl. xxviii: d. 0·024 m.; the intaglio design shows a standing woman, in profile to the right; her hands are raised and support above her head an object shaped like two pairs of horns, but ending in snakes' heads; from its centre rises a double axe.[2] She has long hair, an open bodice with short sleeves, a tight waist and a skirt with pleated flounces. On either side stands a rampant lion. Below is an exergue composed of three horizontal lines with cross hatchings between.

32. Sealstone, carnelian, lentoid, pl. xxviii: d. 0·02 m.; intaglio design similar to that of no. 31,[2] but round each ankle is a ridge which probably indicates an anklet.

33. Sealstone, onyx, lentoid, pl. xxviii: d. 0·023 m.; intaglio design shows a lion to left; head is turned back towards right, mouth open in anger; left hind leg seems to be scratching side, perhaps a wound, a not uncommon subject, see Tomb 518, no. 62 (pl. xxxviii); the bent fore legs may indicate a reclining position which would emphasize the wounded state.[3]

34. Sealstone, onyx, lentoid, pl. xxviii: d. 0·024 m.; intaglio design shows a cow to left turning her head back to lick her calf which is suckling; this is a favourite motive at Mycenae for gems.[4]

35. Sealstone, onyx, lentoid, pl. xxviii: d. 0·022 m.; intaglio design shows two oxen to left reclining, the one in background turns its head away from spectator; in exergue three horizontal lines; two sardonyx sealstones with similar design from Vaphio.[5]

36. Sealstone, onyx, lentoid, pl. xxviii: d. 0·016 m.; intaglio design shows wild goat to left lying down; sketchy execution; work and design similar to that of Tomb 529, no. 37, fig. 44.

37. Spindle whorls, pl. xxix: *a*, conical, one: h. 0·01 m., red stone; *b*, shaped like two cones base to base, one: h. 0·02 m., dark green steatite.

II. *From the Doorway.*

Miscellaneous Objects.

38. Bronze arrow-heads, one complete, but broken, and fragment of another, pl. xxx: l. 0.055 m.; pointed barbs, no tang, three (probably four) holes for attachment to shaft; similar arrow-heads from Mycenae, Thebes, Kakovatos, Argive Heraion, Knossos, Asine, and Dendra.[6]

[1] Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 490 ff., figs. 351, 352.

[2] See below, p. 200 f.

[3] Cf. the gold intaglio from the Third Shaft Grave, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 174, fig. 255 = Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 49, no. 34, pl. xxiv; see also below, p. 199.

[4] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 112, fig. 175, p. 132; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, pl. x, 2; see also below, p. 199 f.

[5] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, pl. x, 9 and 10; see also below, p. 200.

[6] Mycenae, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, pl. ix, 2; Thebes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, p. 160, fig. 119 (2), p. 173, fig. 127 (2, 8); Kakovatos, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 292; Argive Heraion, *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 335, fig. 68 *m*; Knossos, Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 32, fig. 28, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 42, fig. 54, 2*f*; Asine,

39. Bronze plate, two fragments.

40. Bronze bead, spherical, pl. xxx: d. 0·015 m.

41. Amethyst beads, spherical, twenty and eight fragments, pl. xxx: d. 0·005 m.–0·015 m.; unpolished, eighteen and eight fragments; polished, one; partially polished, one.

42. Onyx bead, spherical, pl. xxx: d. 0·03 m.; ends of perforation once possibly bound with gold as agate bead from Mycenae, Tomb 2;[1] sealstones are sometimes similarly bound,[2] cf. Tomb 518, no. 61, pl. xxxviii.

43. Onyx bead, lentoid, pl. xxx: d. 0·03 m.

44. Carnelian bead, pl. xxx: l. 0·01 m.; shaped like two cones set base to base.

45. Beads of glass, spherical, four, pl. xxx: d. 0·01 m.; one broken; bluish colour.

46. Boar's tusks, cut and worked, pl. xxx: *a–d*, curved, four, l. 0·08 m.; *e, f*, triangular, two, w. 0·025 m.; all six pierced through under edges for attachment as protective covering for leather helmet.[3]

III. *From the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

47. Stirrup-vase, pl. xxxi: h. 0·105 m.; globular shape, Tell-el-Amarna style; broad and narrow bands on body; papyrus flowers on shoulder; good fabric. L.H. III.

48. Kylix, pl. xxxi: h. 0·16 m., d. 0·115 m.; probably two-handled, but only part of one survives; unpainted, but incrusted all over except base of foot with a dull grey substance, which may be traces of a paint applied to vase when placed in tomb to give it the appearance of metal, perhaps silver, or remains of paste or gum for affixing gold leaf so as to imitate actual gold cups of this shape;[4] cf. nos. 49, 51, and 52. L.H. III.

49. Kylix, pl. xxxi: h. 0·175 m., d. 0·17 m.; similar to no. 48, but broader and less globular; similarly incrusted, cf. nos. 51 and 52; one handle missing; base flat with raised, metallic edge. L.H. III.

50. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. xxxi: h. 0·045 m., d. 0·11 m.; unpainted; one vertical loop handle just under rim. L.H. III.

51. Shallow bowl, pl. xxxi: h. 0·055 m., d. 0·14 m.; two horizontal ribbon handles just under rim; incrusted like nos. 48, 49, and 52. L.H. III.

52. Kylix, pl. xxxi: h. 0·105 m., d. 0·105 m.; one handle; angular profile; incrusted like nos. 48, 49, and 51. L.H. III.

53. Stirrup-vase, pl. xxxi: h. 0·125 m.; handle missing; shape taller and less

Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund.*, 1924–5, pl. xxxviii, 2; Dendra, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 103, 16, p. 105, fig. 80; see below, p. 187.

[1] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2338, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 137; cf. onyx from Vaphio, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1836.

[2] Mycenae, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, pl. x, 16, 22, 23, 31; Argos, *B. C. H.*, 1904, p. 389, fig. 32; Vaphio, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1889, pl. x, 11, 14, 18, 20, 28, 34, 38; Kambos, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3303, Stais, *Coll. Myc.*[2], p. 159; see also below, p. 202.

[3] See below, pp. 212 ff.

[4] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 125, and *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 26; for gold cups of this type see Stais, *Coll. Myc.*[2], p. 75; see also below, p. 182.

globular; high spout and handle; broad and narrow lines on body, dashes on shoulder; post Tell-el-Amarna. L.H. III.

54. Jar, pl. xxxi: h. 0·105 m.; two horizontal loop handles on body; red-brown solid colour on neck and base; simple lines on body; Union Jack pattern on bottom; good fabric; Granary Class. L.H. III.

55. Jar, pl. xxxi: h. 0·075 m.; two horizontal loop handles on body; similar to no. 54, but no pattern on bottom; Granary Class. L.H. III.

56. Jar, pl. xxxi: h. 0·09 m.; two horizontal loop handles on body; solid colour on neck; lines round shoulder and body; double wavy line between handles; poor fabric; Granary Class. L.H. III.

57. Deep bowl, fig. xxxi: h. 0·065 m., d. 0·095 m.; unpainted; one handle missing; Granary Class. L.H. III.

58. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. xxxi: h. 0·09 m.; handle missing; plain bands on neck and body; Granary Class. L.H. III.

59. Deep bowl, pl. xxxi: h. 0·08 m., d. 0·095 m.; shape deformed; one handle missing; covered inside and out with black glaze paint save for a narrow horizontal belt reserved between handles; Granary Class. L.H. III.

60. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. xxxi: h. 0·10 m.; plain bands on neck, body, and base; fabric and paint poor, latter almost vanished; Granary Class. L.H. III.

61. Jug, pl. xxxi: h. 0·075 m.; neck and handle missing; brick red ware; plain bands on body and neck; Granary Class. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

62. Bronze tweezers, three fragments: present length 0·067 m.; simple type, bent at the top and widening into blades,[1] compare Tomb 529, nos. 26, 28, pl. vii.

63. Bronze head of nail or rivet: d. 0·02 m.

64. Bronze pin: l. 0·06 m.

65. Silver pin: l. 0·045 m.; found near skull no. vi.

66. Arrow-head, flint: l. 0·045 m.; curved barbs, no tang;[2] compare no. 23 *b*, pl. xxix.

67. Spindle whorl, terra-cotta, conical: h. 0·015 m.; found about 0·20 m. above floor.

68. Ivory, two fragments, probably from mirror handle: the larger, 0·06 m. by 0·038 m. by 0·006 m., has a hole surrounded by a patch discoloured by bronze.

69. Amber bead, spheroid: d. 0·018 m.

70. Amethyst bead, spherical: d. 0·015 m.; polished.

71. Beads of glass (*b*) and faience (*a*, *c*).

a. Shaped like grains of wheat, two: l. 0·02 m.; dark grey; found near skull no. vi; compare no. 79*b* and Tomb 523, no. 10, pl. xx.

b. Spherical, four: d. 0·004 m.; grey.

c. Spheroid, one: d. 0·01 m.; blue; ribbed vertically; compare Tomb 517, no. 33, pl. xxxv.

[1] Montelius, *Grèce Préclassique*, i, pl. xvii, 14–21; see below, p. 191.

[2] See below, p. 222 f.

72. Gold.

a. Discs, two: d. 0·03 m.; embossed as rosettes, compare no. 80 *c*, pl. XXXII; pierced round edge; found between 0·20 m. and 0·30 m. above floor.

b. Discs, twenty-seven complete and eight fragments, pls. XXX, XXXII: d. about 0·016 m.; embossed as rosettes; pierced round edge; eight found near skull no. VI, three near skull no. XIII, and one near skull no. XVIII.

c. Leaf, a few pieces.

d. Stud: d. 0·012 m.; mushroom shaped; probably cover of a bronze rivet; found 0·20 m. above floor.

e. Strip: l. 0·03 m.; cut in half and like those from pit, no. 80 *a*, pl. XXXII; pierced along edge.

IV. *From the Pit in the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

73. Goblet, fragment of lip only, Yellow Minyan ware.[1] L.H. II.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

74. Marble saucer, fragment only, about 0·047 m. by 0·03 m.

75. Arrow-head, flint, one: l. 0·033 m.; curved barbs, no tang; compare no. 23 *b*, pl. XXIX.

76. Bronze, three fragments, one being head of rivet, d. 0·018 m., found about 0·50 m. above floor.

77. Amethyst bead, spherical: d. 0·008 m.; unpolished; compare no. 41, pl. XXX.

78. Amber beads, two: d. 0·02 m.; damaged.

79. Ornaments and beads of glass paste *c*, glass *a*, *d*, and faience *b*, *e*.

a. Curled leaf ornament, eight fragments; measurements unobtainable; bad condition; substitutes or imitations of curled leaf ornaments in gold such as no. 80 *g*; development and origin of this type have been discussed elsewhere.[2]

b. Beads shaped like grains of wheat, four: l. 0·016 m.–0·022 m.; grey; compare no. 71 *a* and Tomb 523, no. 10, pl. XX.

c. Plaque: 0·01 m. square; argonaut design in relief, one edge ribbed; similar plaques from Tsountas's House and Tomb of Genii at Mycenae, and Spata.[3]

d. Bead of four lobes: w. 0·005 m.; this shape is not unusual in gold.[4]

e. Beads, spherical, two: d. about 0·0015 m.; blue.

80. Gold.

a–f. From South End of Pit.

a. Strips, pl. XXXII: eight complete: l. 0·086 m., w. 0·025 m.; eighteen half

[1] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 43, fig. 58. [2] *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 397 ff., pl. LXI; see below, p. 192.

[3] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, pl. XVIII, 8–10; *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 383, fig. 89 *a*, *f*; *B.C.H.*, 1878, pls. XIV, XV (Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 2194, 2199).

[4] *B.C.H.*, 1904, p. 338, fig. 29; *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 381, fig. 88 *q*; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 29, c. 6, p. 40, 4.

pieces (cut longitudinally) and seven fragments; all embossed with ivy leaf design; holes pierced along edges.[1]

b. Discs, fifteen: d. 0·01 m.; plain; two holes pierced in edge opposite each other to attach discs to one another or to other objects with fine gold wire;[2] compare no. 80 *i*.

c. Discs, seventy-five more or less complete and many fragments, pl. XXXII: d. 0·03 m.; embossed as rosettes; holes pierced round edge, which usually leave the edge and cut across an arc;[3] compare nos. 72 *a*, 80 *k*.

d. Volute ornaments, from necklace, ten, pl. XXXII: l. 0·009 m.; made in two pieces, front and back, and soldered along edges; pierced for threading as indicated; similar necklace from Phaistos.[4]

e. Bead, spherical, pl. XXXII: d. 0·0035 m.; hollow; made of two pieces soldered round middle.

f. Bead, flattened cylinder: l. 0·002 m.

g–k. From North End of Pit.

g. Curled leaf ornaments, three: l. 0·05 m., w. 0·012 m.; made of three separate strips of thin gold rolled up; where the curls bend they are fastened together with fine gold wire; from these were suspended plain gold discs (one is still attached) like nos. 80 *b*, 80 *i*; these are figured and described elsewhere.[5]

h. Pendants, two, broken: l. 0·04 m.; each consists of three narrow pointed leaves fastened together with fine gold wire; from tips were suspended plain gold discs (one is still *in situ*) like nos. 80 *b*, 80 *i*; these also described elsewhere.[5]

i. Discs, twelve: d. 0·01 m.; plain; two holes pierced in edge opposite to each other to attach discs to one another or to other objects with fine gold wire; see no. 80 *b*.

j. Bead, spherical, pl. XXXII: d. 0·01 m.; hollow; made of two pieces soldered together round middle.

k. Discs, eleven more or less fragmentary: d. 0·03 m.; embossed as rosettes; similar to nos. 72 *a*, 80 *c*, pl. XXXII.

Tomb 516 (fig. 24).

The entrance faces north and is approached by a short, roughly cut, sloping dromos, 3·90 m. long, and about 1·40 m. wide, with two steps cut in the rock at the north end. In proportion to the size of the tomb the dromos is wide and the door shallow, peculiarities noticed in Tomb 515 and also occurring in

[1] See below, p. 196.

[2] E.g. the pointed leaves and curled leaves, see nos. 80 *g*, 80 *h*, and compare the gold bull from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2947; cf. *B.C.H.*, 1897, pl. I.

[3] See below, p. 195.

[4] Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, i, pl. XVI; see below, p. 194.

[5] *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 399 ff., pl. LXI, 1 *c*; see also below, p. 192.

Tombs 529 and 530. The door was closed by a stone wall. The upper part of the doorway and the front part of the vault (fig. 24) had fallen in. The chamber, irregular in shape and roughly cut, was filled with fallen rock and earth.

In the north-east corner there was a small pit, 0·45 m. deep (fig. 24). At

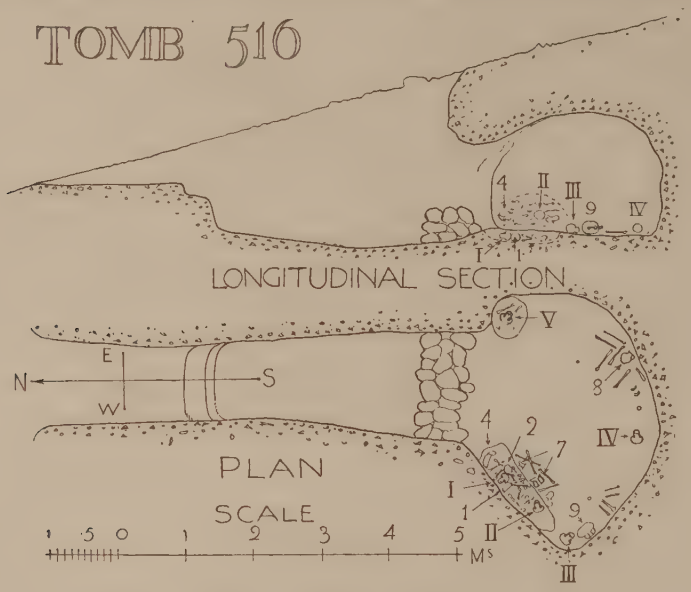

Fig. 24. Tomb 516, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

the very bottom of this an inverted skull, no. v, was found with broken arm, leg, and other bones, beside and above it. These were the remains of an adult male.

Along the west wall ran a pit 1·70 m. long, 0·33 m. to 0·40 m. wide, and 0·18 m.–0·20 m. deep. In this, resting on the rock, were found the pelvis, thigh bones, and some vertebrae of a skeleton, which had lain with its head to the south (fig. 24). There was a fragment of the jaw 0·35 m. south from the pelvis; but no other remains of the skull occurred in the south part of the pit. In the upper layer, in the northern part, above the leg bones just described, we found a skull, no. 1, which was that of a young adult female (fig. 24), surrounded by arm bones and ribs. A fragment of the jaw was found at the very bottom of the pit, but the skull itself 0·08 m. above it. Immediately south of the skull lay the L.H. I double axe cup (1), and to the east of the skull the L.H. I squat jug (2), both at the same level as the skull. With the cup (1) occurred fragments of an L.H. I bridge-spouted jug (3), other fragments being scattered in the top layer of the pit mainly above the pelvis. At the extreme north end of the pit, at the floor level of the chamber, the cup (4) was found adhering to the wall.

All round the skull, in the north part, from just below floor level to the bottom of the pit, were blue glass beads (5). In the earth of the pit there was also found an almond-shaped glass seal (6). Except for a few scattered bones, the earth in the south part of the pit was empty from top to bottom, and no metal objects occurred in it.

It thus seems at least probable that the skull no. I, the bones, and the vases (1–4) in the top layer of the northern part of the pit and the glass beads and seal (5, 6) belong to the leg bones and the pelvis *in situ*, above which they were actually found. They may later have been thrown to the north end of the pit by members of the family searching around the head of the skeleton which originally lay at the south end.

Above the centre of the pit, from the floor level of the chamber to a height of about 0·50 m., earth and bones were piled in a heap: a skull, no. II (fig. 24), a pelvis, leg and arm bones, vertebrae, ribs. In this heap fragments of a small L.H. III jug (7) and a steatite spindle whorl (11 *a*) were found.

In the south-west corner, practically on the floor, lay a skull, no. III (fig. 24), and immediately to the east of it a L.H. III stirrup-vase (9). Leg bones were found 0·40 m. east of the skull in a position indicating that the skeleton to which the skull belonged was in the contracted attitude with its back against the wall. Clearly we have here a L.H. III interment *in situ*. Some 0·10 m. from the knees in a shallow cavity we found a steatite spindle whorl (11 *b*).

In the south-east part of the chamber, resting on the floor, another skeleton, no. IV, in the contracted attitude was found, with its knees touching the wall. The skull was displaced, being 0·80 m. to the west of the shoulder blade. Between the wall and the thigh bones was a red L.H. III jug (8). A steatite spindle whorl (11 *c*) was found on the floor 0·20 m. south of this skeleton. A second whorl of the same type occurred in the earth from this area (11 *c*).

The large pit along the west wall obviously contained the first interment, no. I, with its L.H. I vases (1–4). Possibly to this interment also belonged the L.H. I vases represented by 10 and other fragments of the same date from the dromos and chamber. The L.H. II fragments from the dromos and chamber cannot be assigned to any definite interment unless they belonged to skeleton no. V in the north-east pit which otherwise cannot be dated. Next in order comes the skeleton, no. II, of the heap of bones above the centre of the pit with the L.H. III jug (7). Presumably this skeleton was removed from its original position to make room for the L.H. III interments found *in situ* beside the south wall with two vases (8, 9). As the bones with the L.H. III jug (7) occurred in one heap above the pit, the pit seems to have been disturbed early in the L.H. III period.

FINDS

I. *From the Dromos.*

Here were found four pieces of the fragmentary hole-mouthed jar (10), six pieces of an L.H. II alabastron, and parts of a vase with an ogival canopy pattern like that of Tomb 518, no. 16, pl. XLI.

II. *From the Pit in the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

1. Cup, of tea-cup shape, pl. XXXIII : h. 0·079 m., d. 0·115 m.; double axe pattern. L.H. I.

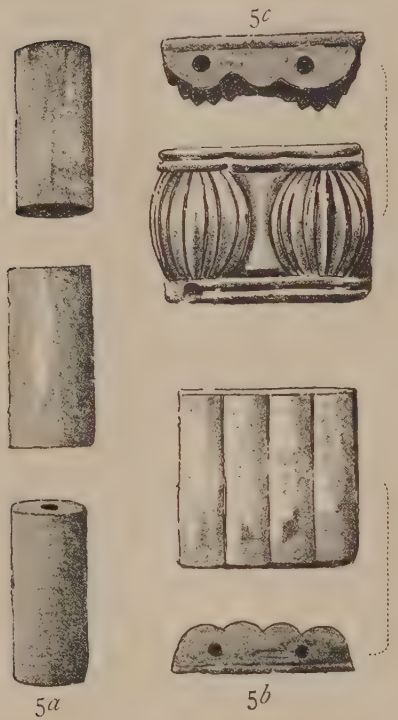

Fig. 25. Tomb 516, Beads of Glass, no. 5 *a*, *b*, *c* (Scale 9 : 10). L.H. I.

2. Jug, squat, pl. XXXIII : h. 0·077 m.; pattern of pear-shaped leaves filled in with cross hatching. L.H. I.

3. Jug, with bridged spout, forepart only, pl. XXXIII : h. 0·17 m.; ogival canopy or festoon pattern. L.H. I.

4. Shallow saucer, pl. II : h. 0·029 m., d. 0·10 m.; one loop handle; ivy-leaf pattern. L.H. I.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

5. Beads of glass, fig. 25 : *a*, tubular, plain, eleven and several fragments, l. about 0·029 m., d. 0·012–0·016 m., pierced for threading, colour deep blue inside, whitish outside; *b*, ornaments of tabular shape consisting of four cylinders cast in one piece with a flat back, two, one broken, l. 0·03 m., w. 0·03 m., two holes for threading, same colour as (5 *a*);[1] *c*, ornament of tabular shape, consisting of two vertically ribbed oval beads cast in one piece with a flat back and horizontal ribbed borders at top and bottom in the front, one, l. 0·026 m., w. 0·035 m., two holes for threading, blue in colour. L.H. I.

6. Seal of glass, amygdaloid, fig. 26 : l. 0·025 m.; on obverse intaglio design of a bird with outspread wings, on reverse plain curved bands; colour whitish-blue. L.H. I.

III. *From the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

7. Jug with stirrup handle, pl. XXXII : h. 0·103 m.; high neck, small spout, treble stirrup handle; plain bands painted round body. L.H. III.

[1] Beads similar to nos. 5*a* and 5*b* were found in the First Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 69, no. 209, pl. CL. See below, p. 207.

8. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XXXII: h. 0·108 m.; covered with red glaze paint. L.H. III.

9. Stirrup-vase, pl. XXXII: h. 0·091 m.; flattish globular type; plain bands round the body, on shoulder papyrus flowers; Tell-el-Amarna style.[1] L.H. III.

Fig. 26. Tomb 516, Seal of Glass, no. 6 (Scale 1 : 1). L.H.I.

10. Jar, hole-mouthed, seven fragments, four of which were found in the dromos: ground covered with a pattern of close set dots on which was a spiral pattern of some kind.[2] L.H. I.

There were also in the chamber several other fragments of L.H. I or L.H. II style, some of which were possibly from a vase like Tomb 518, no. 16, pl. XLI.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

11. Spindle whorls, steatite, dark grey: *a*, shaped like two tallish cones base to base, one, h. 0·024 m., d. 0·02 m.; *b*, shaped like two cones set base to base, but more flattened than *a*, one, h. 0·016 m., d. 0·022 m.; *c*, conical, two, h. 0·011 m.

12. Amethyst bead, spherical: d. 0·005 m.; polished.

Tomb 517 (fig. 27)

The entrance faces north and is approached by a dromos about 3·40 m.

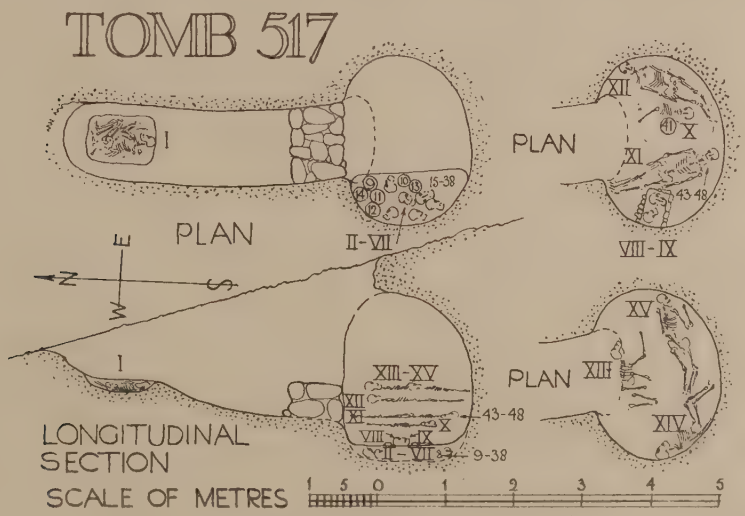

Fig. 27. Tomb 517, Plans and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

long and 1·15 m. wide. There is a steady descent from the beginning of the dromos into the chamber which is well below the level of the dromos. The

[1] Cf. *British Museum Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 188, fig. 269, no. A 999, 1.

[2] Compare a fragment from Kakovatos, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 310, pl. XXIV, 10.

door is the same width as the dromos and was closed by a walling of rough stones 0·80 m. thick and 0·50 m. to 0·70 m. high. The upper part of the door and the roof of the forepart of the chamber had collapsed, so there was no means of deciding the original height of the door. The chamber is a rough oval and measures 2·00 m. by 3·00 m., and is about 2·20 m. high. The greater part of its western side is occupied by a pit about 1·90 m. long, 0·90 m. wide, and 0·30 m. deep (fig. 27). The dromos is wide for its length, and the doorway is shallow and remarkable in being the same width as the dromos, as in Tomb 514. The rough construction of the tomb and its plan would, without the evidence of any finds from it, incline us to assign its construction to an early period, L.H. I, a date which is amply confirmed by the evidence of its contents.

In a shallow pit, about 1·00 m. long, 0·70 m. wide, and 0·25 m. deep, cut in the floor of the north end or beginning of the dromos, lay a skeleton, no. 1. This seemed not to be in its original position,[1] and resembled those found in the pits in the dromos of Tomb 514, where the bones had obviously been removed from their original place of interment and reburied, packed together in pits in the dromos.[2] This seems to have taken place in this case too, for around the bones were found several sherds of L.H. I–II pottery, several of which were pieces of broken vases found with the earliest interments in the pit in the chamber. For instance some of the sherds belonged to the fine rhyton (10). The most noticeable pieces are catalogued below (1–8).

Apart from these L.H. I–II sherds found round skeleton no. 1, all the other pottery in the dromos was much broken and of L.H. III style and date. None of it was of any importance.

In the chamber six skulls, nos. II–VII, were found in the pit. Four of these were bunched together cheek by jowl against the middle of the west wall, a fifth lay against the same wall slightly farther northwards, and the sixth lay towards the middle of the east side of the pit. All around them and everywhere in the pit was a mass of human bones heaped together in disorder, among which lay fragments of vases (9–31) and various small decorative objects and personal ornaments (32–8). The contents of the pit clearly represent the remains of at least six early burials of L.H. I and L.H. II date, which were displaced and swept into it in order to make room for others. Thus we can consider them with no. 1 (the burial in the dromos, which, from the potsherds round it, is of the same date) to represent the earliest use of the tomb. In other words, the tomb was made and first used well before the end of L.H. I, a conclusion which entirely supports the suggestions derived from a comparison of its plan and shape with other tombs.

[1] The drawing of this in the plan, fig. 27, is purely arbitrary.

[2] See below, p. 129.

Above the pit lay a small enclosure of stones about 0·55 m. wide by 0·70 m. long, in which lay the remains of two skeletons, nos. VIII and IX, one of which was that of a sturdy woman of middle age. These, from the fact that the bones were in complete disorder, probably represent two later interments (subsequent to the filling of the pit), which were removed and placed in this enclosure to enable new tenants to be accommodated. With them were a bead and a spindle whorl (39, 40).

About 0·30 m. above the level of the floor (and thus about the same level above the top of the pit) we found another skeleton, no. X, in the eastern part of the chamber. The bones seemed to have been slightly disturbed, perhaps by the interment of skeletons nos. XI and XII, which lay at slightly higher levels to the east and west. The body seems to have been laid in the usual reclining position and by it was one vase (41), and a number of beads (42), which may, however, be strays from the necklace which was round the neck of skeleton no. XI.

At about the same level as this skeleton, no. X, a good number of L.H. III potsherds was found, among which we may specially note the stem of a painted kylix of the Zygouries style,[1] and a loop handle from a cup probably of tea-cup shape. The L.H. III stirrup-vase of Tell-el-Amarna style (41) found with this skeleton shows that all the later interments cannot be earlier than the beginning of the L.H. III period, and may possibly be considerably later. On the other hand it gives a *terminus ante quem* for the burials below this level. We know already from the pottery found in the pit that skeletons nos. I–VII are of L.H. I and II date. The intervening skeletons nos. VIII and IX should then date between the early part of L.H. II and the end of the Tell-el-Amarna period. The steatite spindle whorl found with them suggests the later date, because before L.H. III spindle whorls of terra-cotta, like those (35) from the pit, are the rule.[2]

About 0·40 m. above the top of the pit, and thus over skeletons nos. VIII and IX, another skeleton, no. XI, was found lying *in situ* in the usual reclining attitude, with the head towards the south and the feet in the north-west corner of the chamber. Round the neck was a necklace of beads (43–48) from which we may perhaps conclude that it was the skeleton of a woman.

At a slightly higher level, about 0·65 m. above the floor of the chamber, skeleton no. XII lay, in the eastern part, with the head in the north-east angle and the feet towards the south wall. The body had been laid in the usual reclining attitude, but there were no offerings with it. Just below this level, and in the higher levels of the deposit in this tomb, a good deal of poor, unpainted, coarse, domestic L.H. III ware was found. They all seemed to be stray sherds, much worn and broken, and no pieces joined together.

[1] Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl. XVI. [2] *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 385; see below, pp. 102, 218 f.

At a still higher level three more skeletons were found, nos. XIII–XV, which represent the latest interments in the tomb. There were no offerings of any kind with them. All had been placed in the usual reclining position, and still lay undisturbed when we found them. No. XV had the right hand lying in the lap, an attitude often noticed in other skeletons in these tombs.[1] No. XIII was slightly lower than the other two and so may be earlier. Both the others lay at the same level, and it is impossible to say which is the later.

Above the level of these burials we found a small vase and a bead (49, 50).

This tomb, with its clear succession of interments which had lain undisturbed, gives us very valuable information about the history of these tombs. It shows that from L.H. I till the end of L.H. III or near it, one Mycenaean family at least continued to use its family sepulchre. This again proves there was no violent break or interruption of culture or population at Mycenae during this long time. This fact is shown clearly by the evidence of this tomb, of Tombs 515, 518, and 529, and we obtain confirmatory evidence from Tombs 516, 532, and 533. That the continuity of Late Helladic civilization should be so clearly demonstrated is most important.[2] We know too that the burial customs remained the same. In the last period, however, fewer offerings were placed with the dead, and the custom of sweeping aside the earlier tenants of the tombs to make room for newcomers was not carried out so thoroughly.

Finds

I. *From the Pit in the Dromos.*

Pottery.

1. Cup, tea-cup shape, handle, part of base, and three fragments; similar to no. 11 below; a fragment, no. 23, from the chamber belongs to it. L.H. I.

2. Cup similar to no. 1, handle only; decorated with reddish-brown stripes. L.H. I.

3. Goblet, probably similar to nos. 16 and 17,[3] handle only, broken; decorated with black stripes. L.H. I–II.

4. Cup of Vaphio shape,[4] fragment of rim only; decorated in reddish paint with festoons and dots. L.H. I–II.

5. Alabastron, two fragments; decorated in black with ivy leaves and horizontal lines. L.H. II.

6. Goblet similar to no. 3, fragment of rim only; decorated with black paint. L.H. I–II.

7. Alabastron, fragment of lip; greenish-yellow clay. L.H. II.

8. Cup similar to no. 1, one fragment; greenish-yellow clay, decorated with dashes along the rim and a wave pattern on the body all in thin black paint. L.H. II.

[1] See below, p. 139.

[2] See below, p. 137 f.

[3] Compare Blegen, *Korakou*, fig. 57.

[4] Blegen, *op. cit.*, fig. 53, 2.

II. *From the Pit in the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

9. Jar, ovoid, pl. XXXIII: h. 0·09 m.; short neck and no handles, decorated with horizontal bands of blackish-brown paint.[1] L.H. I.

10. Rhyton, ovoid, pls. I, XXXIII: h. 0·16 m.; some pieces found in pit in dromos; solid colour on neck below which is a ring of dots; on the lower part of the body are plain horizontal bands, while the centre is occupied by a design of large spirals with solid centres, and linked by tangents with loops above and below; paint shades from brown to red; dots in added white appear in groups of five on the bands immediately above and below the central pattern, in the centre of each spiral, and on the tangents; the edge of the lip is rolled, and there is a plastic ring at the base of the neck in imitation of a mouthpiece of faience or some other material set on to a real ostrich egg.[2] The nipple at the base is pierced and the solid colour on and round it perhaps imitates a cap of gold over the exit hole in one made of a real ostrich egg. Compare Tomb 518, no. 32 (pl. I), and the somewhat similar rhyton found by Schliemann in the Second Shaft Grave,[3] and for the design the cup no. 11 below, and the similar cups from Tombs 518, nos. 37, 38, and 529, no. 1 (pls. XXXIV, XLI, I). L.H. I.

11. Cup, tea-cup shape, much restored, pl. XXXIV: h. 0·075 m., d. 0·115 m.; similar to Tomb 529, no. 1 and Tomb 518, nos. 37 and 38; the pattern is similar to that of the rhyton no. 10 (pl. I); the paint is reddish, white dots added to centres of spirals and to tangents. L.H. I.

12. Shallow saucer, pl. XXXIII: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·105 m.; decorated outside with a spiral in the centre with a conventional foliage design round the body and with short bars on the rim and on the lip; unpainted inside; metallic loop handle rising above rim; dark brown paint. L.H. I.

13. Alabastron with vertical sides, pl. XXXIII: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·10 m.; wheel pattern on base; decorated on the shoulder and body with horizontal bands, rows of crosses and of dots; poor fabric; blackish paint. L.H. I.

14. Alabastron with vertical sides, pl. XXXIV: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·065 m.; wheel pattern on base, but with a solid hub instead of two concentric circles; decorated on the shoulder with rows of dots and on the sides with vertical wavy lines; reddish paint. L.H. I.

15. Shallow saucer, fragment only, pl. XXXIV: same type and size as no. 12; decorated with a continuous wave pattern and two horizontal bands outside, and on the inside with wavy lines crossing one another in all directions like matted roots; dark brown paint. L.H. I.

16. Goblet, pl. XXXIV: h. 0·14 m., d. 0·135 m.; short stem, one handle standing well

[1] For the shape and decoration compare *British Museum Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 130, A 755, and for the shape, *ibid.*, p. 103, A 635; see below, p. 151.

[2] Cf. the ostrich egg rhytons from the Fifth Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 146, no. 828, pl. CXLI, and from Dendra, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 37, pl III.

[3] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, pl. IV, 14; Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 70, no. 221, pl. CLXX; see below, p. 151.

above and away from rim; the inside is covered with red-brown glaze paint; outside unpainted of yellow buff polished ware, Yellow Minyan.[1] L.H. I.

17. Goblet, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·13 m., d. 0·135 m.; similar to no. 16; black glaze paint inside. L.H. I.

18. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·135 m.; covered with stippled decoration on the outside in reddish paint. L.H. II.

19. Alabastron, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·04 m., d. 0·075 m.; concentric circles on base;[2] round body a continuous wave pattern with lily flowers between the handles; dark brown paint. L.H. II.

20. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·155 m.; unpainted; one handle; low plastic ring at base of neck; Yellow Minyan ware. L.H. I–II.

21. Handleless cup, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·04 m., d. 0·10 m.; unpainted coarse brick-red ware.[3] L.H. II.

22. Goblet, four fragments; short stem, one handle, similar in shape to nos. 16 and 17, pl. xxxiv; unpainted inside; decorated outside in black with a horizontal band round the stem and three bands round the body, with a foliate design above. L.H. I–II.

23. Small fragment of no. 1 above from the dromos.

24. Shallow saucer, three fragments; same type as no. 12, pl. xxxiii and with same decoration, but covered inside with blackish glaze paint. L.H. I.

25. Jug with horizontal lip, eight fragments; similar to no. 20. L.H. I–II.

26. Goblet, ten fragments; similar to nos. 16 and 17, pl. xxxiv; undecorated outside and covered inside with black glaze paint. L.H. I–II.

27. Goblet, four fragments; unpainted, rather coarse yellow-buff clay. L.H. II.

28. Shallow saucer, fragment of rim; same type as no. 12, pl. xxxiii; ivy-leaf decoration on the outside. L.H. II.

29. Vase, indeterminate shape, six pieces; greenish-yellow clay with black ornaments. L.H. I–II.

30. Fragments, thirteen; miscellaneous and unrelated.

31. Jug with bridged spout, four fragments; similar to Tomb 516, no 3 (pl. xxxiii), Tomb 518, no. 31 (pl. iv); greenish clay; blackish paint with two (?) horizontal rows of pendant trifoliates joined to one another by festoons of dots;[4] there are a row of dots and plain horizontal bands round the neck and rim; thin paint in bad condition. L.H. II.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

32. Seal, blue faience, cylindrical, fig. 28 and pl. xxxv: l. 0·023 m.; on it are seen in intaglio two men with curious hats or helmets, a rampant wild goat, and a tree; since all the pottery found in the pit with it is of L.H. I or L.H. II date, this cylinder should not be later than the fifteenth century B.C.[5]

33. Beads of blue faience, spheroid, four, pl. xxxv: d. 0·009 m.–0·012 m.; ribbed vertically; compare Tomb 515, no. 71 *c*.

[1] Compare Blegen, *Korakou*, fig. 78.

[2] Compare Blegen, *ibid.*, fig. 74.

[3] Compare Blegen, *ibid.*, fig. 81; see below, pp. 164, 184.

[4] Compare *B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 314 (1), pl. 1; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 426, 427, fig. 248; see below, p. 160.

[5] See below, p. 197.

34. Beads of faience *a*, and glass *b–i*, pl. xxxv.

a. Shaped like a grain of wheat, one: l. 0·016 m.; white.

b. Tubular, one: l. 0·026 m.; grey with white stripes.

c. Flattened spheroid, seven: six, d. 0·018 m., originally of greenish-white or

Fig. 28. Tomb 517, Faience Cylinder, No. 32 (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. I–II.

bluish-green glass which has now changed colour, and is very iridescent; the seventh, d. 0·022 m., of greenish-grey glass with white stripes.

d. Miscellaneous, flattened spheroid, ten: greatest d. 0·015 m., smallest d. 0·007 m.; grey, blue, greenish-white, white striped.

e. Pear-shaped, one: d. 0·02 m.; grey, white striped.

f. Spherical, two: d. 0·016 m.–0·022 m.; blue, ribbed vertically.

g. Ovoid, one: d. 0·016 m.; white striped, with broad vertical ribs.

h. Lentoid, fragment of, one: d. 0·016 m.; possibly with intaglio design.

i. Fragment of a bead of peacock-blue glass.

35. Spindle whorls, terra-cotta, five, conical, four, trumpet shaped, one, pl. xxxv: h. 0·015 m.–0·025 m. L.H. I–II.

36. Boar's tusks, cut and worked, two pieces, pl. xxxv: from the protection of a leather helmet; one, a rectangular piece 0·015 m. × 0·021 m., perforated behind for attachment; the other, a pointed piece, l. 0·055.

37. Stone beads, pl. xxxv.

a. Crystal, spherical, one: d. 0·011 m.; unpolished.

b. Amethyst, spherical, three: d. 0·01–0·013 m.; unpolished.

c. Amethyst, flattened, two: d. 0·0167 m.; unpolished and unperforated.

d. Amethyst, amygdaloid, one: l. 0·016 m.; unpolished.

38. Porphyry, fragment of, the core from a boring, pl. xxxv: l. 0·012 m.

III. *From Enclosure of stones with skeletons nos.* VIII *and* IX *in the Chamber.*

Miscellaneous Objects.

39. Amethyst bead, spherical, pl. xxxvi: d. 0·011 m.; unpolished.

40. Spindle whorl, steatite, conical, pl. xxxvi: h. 0·012 m.; dark green.

IV. *Found with skeleton no.* X *in the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

41. Stirrup-vase, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·095 m.; depressed globular shape; Tell-el-Amarna style; decorated with thin and thick horizontal lines alternating on the body; chevrons on the shoulder; concentric circles on base; good fabric; red paint. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

42. Stone beads, pl. xxxvi.
   a. Crystal, oval, three: l. 0·01 m.; unpolished.
   b. Crystal, spherical, one: d. 0·005 m.; unpolished.
   c. Carnelian, tubular, one: d. 0·006 m., l. 0·006 m.; polished.

V. *Found with skeleton no.* XI *in the Chamber.*

Miscellaneous Objects.

43. Amber beads, irregular, three, and one fragment, pl. xxxvi: l. 0·009 m.–0·013 m.; rather decayed.

44. Crystal beads, oval and spherical,[1] twenty-eight, pl. xxxvi: l. 0·007 m.–0·012 m.; unpolished.

45. Carnelian beads, rough-cut, flat,[2] twenty-nine, pl. xxxvi: d. 0·006 m.–0·009 m.; unpolished.

46. Gold bead, spherical, pl. xxxvi: d. 0·005 m.; hollow, made of two pieces soldered together round the middle.[3]

47. Beads of faience *a*, and glass *b*-*e*, pl. xxxvi.
   a. Shaped like a grain of wheat, two: l. 0·02 m.; pale blue.[4]
   b. Spherical, one: d. 0·013 m.; greenish-white.
   c. Spherical, one: d. 0·01 m.; dark grey.
   d. Spherical, twelve: d. 0·005 m.–0·007 m.; greenish-white, white, and grey.
   e. Tubular, one: l. 0·013 m.; white.

48. Blue faience bead, flattened spheroid, pl. xxxvi: d. 0·008 m.; ribbed.[5]

VI. *Found above all the burials in the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

49. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. xxxiv: h. 0·085 m.; plain horizontal bands round body and neck at base of which is a row of dots; poor fabric. Compare Tomb 524, no. 12, pl. xxii. Late L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

50. Bead of glass, spherical, pl. xxxvi: d. 0·015 m.; whitish.

[1] Cf. beads from Salamis, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3628.

[2] Cf. the similar beads from the Treasury of Atreus (*B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 354, fig. 74 *e*), and others from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2352.

[3] Similar beads from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 2452 and 3185 (Tomb 91).

[4] Similar beads from Mycenae, Tomb 58, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2813; Menidi, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1993; Dimeni, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3368.

[5] Similar ribbed faience beads from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 2387 (Tomb 11), 4540 (Tomb of Genii, *B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 381, 382, fig. 88, *f*, *h*); and Nauplia, Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 3484-6.

Tomb 518 (fig. 29).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a dromos about 8·00 m. long and 1·30 m. to 1·50 m. wide. The descent to the chamber is gradual and, the

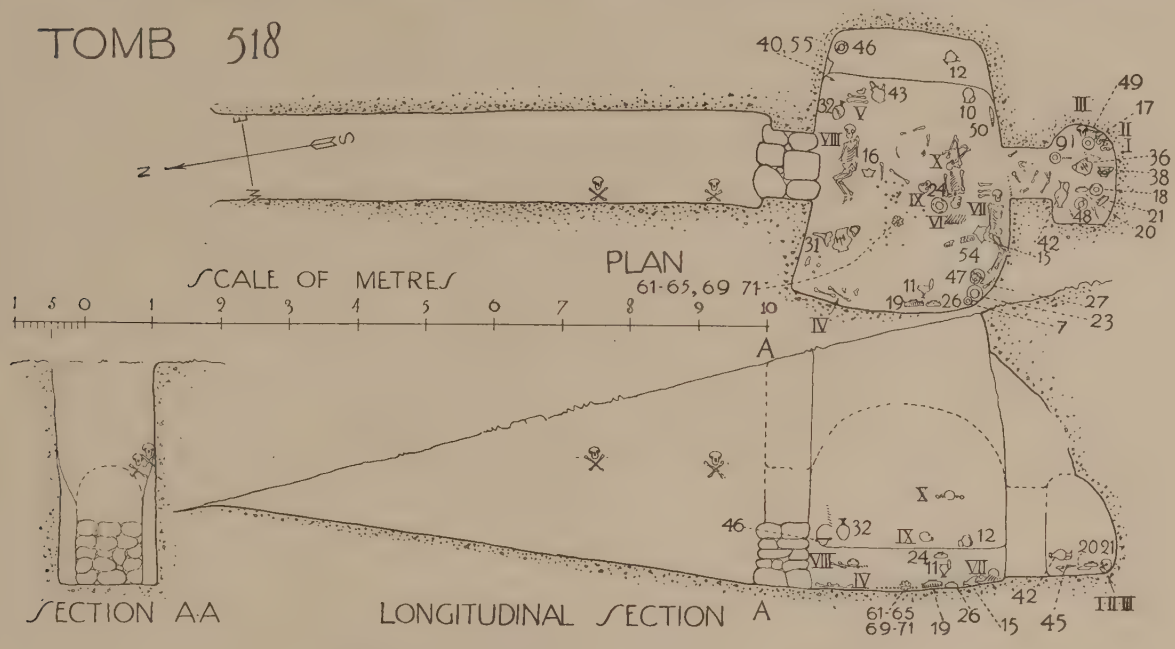

Fig. 29. Tomb 518, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

rock being very soft, it was difficult to ascertain the exact shape of the dromos. The door is very shallow, being only 0·90 m. deep and 1·00 m. wide. It was blocked by a rough stone walling which seemed to have been disturbed as it was only about 1·00 m. high. The roof of the chamber and of the door have long since collapsed, but we may estimate the height of the door as having been originally about 1·70 m. to 2·00 m. The chamber is roughly rectangular in plan, measuring 5·00 m. by 3·80 m., and was probably about 2·00 m. high. Along its east wall runs a rock-cut bench 0·70 m. wide and 0·60 m. high. At the back, that is to say, in the centre of the south wall of the chamber, is an entrance to a second chamber or alcove. The entrance to it, which was quite open, is 0·70 m. wide and 0·60 m. deep. The alcove itself is roughly rectangular in plan, measuring about 1·00 m. by 1·50 m. and is 1·40 m. high. It is, in fact, a small replica of the main chamber.

In clearing the dromos little pottery was found, and it was nearly all L.H. III ware of the ordinary type, except for a few pieces of a L.H. II alabastron (30), most of which was found in the chamber. The L.H. III sherds

were much broken, of poor style, and in bad condition. In clearing away the fallen rock above the chamber we found two patterned sherds of Early Helladic ware,[1] two or three small L.H. I–II pieces, and a good deal of very miscellaneous and much broken L.H. III ware similar to that from the dromos.

In the dromos at a height of 1·50 to 1·80 m. above its floor and against the west wall we found two late unenclosed interments. The skeletons were much decayed, and the exact position of burial could not be ascertained. By the northernmost skeleton lay two small Byzantine bronze coins, apparently of Manuel I, A.D. 1143–80.[2] We can, therefore, attribute these two burials to that period.

On the floor of the chamber everything was in confusion; seal-stones, fragments of pottery, amber, and stone beads lay scattered about in all directions. It seemed as if the chamber had many times over been cleared of earlier interments to make room for newcomers. In the process of sweeping aside the funeral offerings, many of them had got broken and scattered, and many small objects and fragments of vases thus got trampled in with the earth lying on the floor. In the main, the remains of the earlier interments seem to have been transferred to the alcove, which was found tightly packed with skulls, bones, vase fragments, and a few small objects. We may thus call the three skulls and the bones found there with them, nos. I, II and III, the earliest interments in this tomb. With them were found several vases (6,[3] 9, 14, 18, 20, 21, 36, 38, 42, and 45). The last but one (42) is a surprise, for, although it was found only just within the alcove to the north-west, it is nevertheless an early L.H. III vase, whereas all the other vases are of L.H. I or II date. We must, therefore, conclude that not only in the time of the first use of this tomb were the remains of previous interments pushed into the alcove to make room for others, but that this practice was continued into L.H. III times. We cannot then assume that all the objects found in the alcove are of one date. The same confusion of early interments is to be observed also in Tombs 517 and 529. The fragments of some vases (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 17, 22, 23, 33, 37, 39, and 48) were found partly in the alcove and partly in the chamber, showing that the vases had been broken in the process of removal. One other vase (30) was scattered in the alcove, the chamber and the dromos; apparently when it was removed it broke, part was transferred to the alcove, part was trodden in on the chamber floor, and one or two sherds with other rubbish were expelled into the dromos. Comparatively few small objects were found in the alcove; this is as might be expected. Small objects such as beads, bronzes, and the like, would be more likely than

[1] Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 8 ff.

[2] *British Museum, Cat. Byzantine Coins*, ii, p. 579, no. 75.

[3] One fragment of this vase was found in the chamber at a high level.

vases to get covered with earth or decayed matter, and so escape notice, when the interments were swept into the alcove. Any small objects of value would most probably have been removed by those making the transference. Thus we see that most of the small finds, ivories, gems, beads, &c., were found lying in the earth on the chamber floor. In the alcove we found a fine bronze dagger (49) and an amethyst sealstone (66). Obsidian arrow-heads were found both in the alcove and in the chamber (52), and also boar's tusks for the protection of a leather helmet (59).

In the chamber the earliest interments are probably nos. IV and V, which were found pushed aside into the north-west and north-east corners. Both these lay on or just above the floor, and another skeleton also, no. VI, in a much disturbed condition, lay in the middle of the tomb close to the floor and just to the west of the entrance to the alcove. These six skeletons, the three in the alcove and the three found in such a miserable condition just above the floor of the chamber, probably represent the earliest tenants of the tomb, and the owners of most of the L.H. I and II pottery, and of the small objects found scattered about. In the chamber at this level were found the scattered fragments of several vases (2,[1] 4, 25, 28, 29, 33,[1] 34, 35, 41, and 44). One vase (40) was found in the north-east corner, others (16, 31, and 32) a little way within the tomb round the entrance, another (11) against the middle of the west wall, and a large group (7, 8, 15, 19, 23,[1] 26, 27, and 47) was with the bronze knife (51) in the south-west angle. Of the small objects, the sealstones (61–5), the stone beads (67, 68), the amber, glass, and faience beads (69–71), and the gold work (74–7) were found scattered about mainly in the centre of the chamber close to the floor. The bronze knife (50) lay in the south-east angle. The ivory inlay (54) lay close by skeleton no. VI, near to the floor. The ivory pyxides and combs (56, 57, 58), with one exception, a pyxis (55) the pieces of which were found in the north-east corner, lay towards the south end of the west wall. Finally, there was a group of five vases, which lay on or just by the bench (10, 12, 40, 43, and 46, pl. XXXVI). These, with the possible exception of a lamp (46), are either late L.H. II or early L.H. III vases, and may perhaps have belonged to a later burial. Above the vases, about 0·20 m. above the floor, in the south-west angle, especially above the amphora (15), lay anotherskeleton, no. VII (pl. XXXVII). This was much decayed, but so far as could be seen, lay in the usual reclining attitude. At 0·40 m. above the floor another skeleton was found lying in the same attitude just inside the door, no. VIII. These two skeletons had no funeral offerings with them, but they may have been the owners of the L.H. III vases from the bench and alcove. At a still higher level, 0·70 m. above the floor, lay another skeleton, no. IX, in a very bad state. Near it lay an alabastron (24),

[1] Pieces of these were found in the alcove too.

which is of the high type, and therefore, as will be seen by the evidence of Tomb 529, undoubtedly of L.H. III date.[1] Finally, about 1·30 m. above the floor, another skeleton, no. x (pl. xxxvii), was found in the usual reclining attitude like nos. vii and viii, and, like them again, it had no funeral offerings with it. By the time this interment was made, the gradual decomposition of the roof and walls of the chamber must have entirely covered up all signs of earlier interments with a thick layer of soil. How slow or how rapid this accumulation was we cannot tell. Normally, it would probably be a slow process, but in the case of the soft rock in which this tomb is cut, a sudden heavy fall from the roof might produce a thick deposit in the chamber.[2] So in the absence of funeral offerings we have no means of judging how much later this last interment, no. x, might have been than no. ix, which is of L.H. III date. Seeing that we know from Tombs 515, 517, and 529 that the use of these family sepulchres lasted till almost the end of L.H. III, we can at least say that this last interment should be earlier in date than the end of that period.

It is unfortunate that the stratification of this tomb is not as clear as that of Tomb 529, for otherwise we might have been able to observe important details about the evolution of L.H. I and II pottery. As it is, however, this tomb provides an exceedingly rich collection of vases of the L.H. I and II periods which, with those from Tomb 529, enable us to carry the study of the development of pottery at Mycenae from the Shaft Grave period well into L.H. III.

The presence of lamps and of the bench and the alcove in this tomb suggests that the removal of the bones and other remains of early interments to the alcove may not have been due merely to a desire to clear the chamber for newcomers. It is just possible that the living members of the family at stated times entered the family sepulchre, and by the performance of due rites and ceremonies, perhaps including a memorial feast, held some kind of communion with the dead. This is a point to which we shall return below when we consider the evidence from all the other tombs as well.[3]

Finds

From the Chamber and Alcove.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Jug with cutaway neck, pl. iii: h. 0·32 m.; metallic handle with central rib, with two studs at top and knob below, plastic ring at base of neck and round base; solid colour round base and neck, at foot of neck row of dots, lower part of body decorated

[1] See below, p. 101 f.

[2] Some earth might of course have been brought into the chamber to cover the earlier interments and prepare for new occupants.

[3] See below, pp. 136 ff.

with waving grass pattern, on upper part row of spirals with solid centres and linked by curved tangents with loops above and below; good fabric, reddish-brown on buff. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. I.

2. Jug, beaked, pl. III: h. 0·275 m.; hooked metallic handle with knob below, at base of neck plastic ring, round base arcade pattern, body decorated with rosettes, sea anemones, and variants of the ivy-leaf pattern, with curled lobes and a bulb below, suggesting figure of eight shields, all arranged like inlays, on neck coral pattern in reserved technique, below neck a row of foliate motives, stripes on handle; red on buff. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II.

3. Jug with horizontal lip and narrow neck,[1] pl. XXXIX: h. 0·18 m.; wide metallic lip, metallic handle with three studs at top, plastic ring round base; wave pattern on rim, on neck inverted arcade pattern, on body elaborate design of three-branched lilies with stars and rosettes in the interspaces, round base plain bands; poor fabric, paint partly gone. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II.

4. Jar, hole-mouthed, pl. XXXIX: h. 0·25 m., d. of opening 0·11 m.; plastic rim to accommodate a lid, on either side a horizontal loop handle which stands above rim, on opposite side to spout and just below rim a small vertical loop for fastening the lid; solid colour on spout and base, on body above belt of three broad bands a frieze of four plants with cross-hatched, pear-shaped leaves; black-brown decoration on dull yellow-buff, poor fabric; for development of the shape compare Tomb 532, no. 8, pl. VI. *Chamber.* L.H. I.

5. Jar, pl. XLII: h. 0·28 m.; hooked handles on opposite sides of neck running from rim to shoulder, lip pinched in to an oval on either side by the handles; on body two zones of running spirals rather carelessly done, separated by broad bands; poor fabric, coarse buff clay decorated in red; similar vases from the Second Tholos Tomb at Kakovatos.[2] *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II.

6. Three-handled amphora, pl. XLII: h. 0·17 m., d. 0·11 m.; three handles on shoulder of an upright loop type; solid colour on neck and round base, round body a frieze of double axes, haftless and rather conventionalized, with wavy lines between the blades; poor fabric, colour much perished. *Alcove, except one piece at a high level in Chamber.* L.H. I.

7. Jug, squat, pl. XLII: h. 0·085 m.; vertical loop handle on shoulder; solid colour on neck and round base, on shoulder row of concentric circles with dots between; rough fabric like no. 5. *Chamber, south-west corner.* L.H. I.

8. Jug, squat, pl. XLII: h. 0·09 m.; like no. 7; solid colour on neck, on lower part of body four parallel horizontal lines, on shoulder a running spiral pattern; rough fabric like nos. 5 and 7. *Chamber, south-west corner.* L.H. I-II.

9. Spreading dish on tall hollow stem, pl. XLII: h. 0·125 m., d. of top 0·155 m., of stem 0·085 m.; on stem and outside wide horizontal parallel bands, inside a running spiral pattern edged with a wave design; string marks on base; rough fabric like nos. 5,

[1] See below, p. 157.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pl. XXIV, 8, 9, p. 323; there is a similar type in Crete, *J.H.S.*, 1901, p. 87, fig. 12; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. I, II; Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, I, pls. XIII, 2-4, XX, 1, but it differs from these Mainland examples.

7, and 8; these four vases are of a spongy clay and apart from the Kakovatos examples already cited, there are no good parallels from the Mainland known. On the other hand they differ too much from the Cretan vases mentioned to be considered Minoan imports. They may be of some island fabric, for they have a Cycladic far more than a Helladic appearance, and though obviously not Melian or Theran, might come from some other island.[1] The clay does not seem Mycenaean. *Alcove, save one sherd in Chamber.* L.H. I.

10. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLII: h. 0·18 m; unpainted, buff ware, Yellow Minyan; better fabric than the similar jugs[2] Tomb 527, no. 1 and Tomb 529, no. 18, pls. XLVII, LI, but of the same quality as Tomb 524, no. 11 and Tomb 533, no. 15, pl. LVII. *Chamber, just below edge of bench at south end, as though it had just fallen off.* L.H. II.

11. Goblet, pl. XLII: h. (to top of handle) 0·19 m., d. 0·14 m.; short stem, one high swung handle standing well above rim; unpainted buff ware, good fabric, Yellow Minyan; stem is higher, body less globular, and rim is less metallic than the similar goblets, Tomb 517, nos. 16, 17, pl XXXIV, which are probably L.H. I. *Chamber, west side.* L.H. II.

12. Deep bowl, pl. XLIII: h. 0·12 m., d. 0·145 m.; one horizontal loop handle, short stem; covered inside and out with black glaze paint. *Chamber, on bench at south end.* L.H. II–III.

13. Ladle or scoop, pl. XLIII: h. 0·055 m., l. with handle 0·24 m., d. 0·12 m.; unpainted coarse brick-red clay; made on quick wheel; hole pierced at end of handle for suspension. Perhaps intended for carrying live charcoal. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II–III.

14. Handleless cup, pl. XLIII: h. 0·055 m., d. 0·105 m.; unpainted coarse brick-red ware, string marks on base. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II.

15. Three-handled amphora, pl. V: h. 0·405 m., d. of mouth 0·155 m.; flat metallic rim, triple ribbed metallic handles, plastic rings at base and neck; solid colour on neck and round base, on rim simple cable-like pattern, lower part of body decorated with thin and thick horizontal bands, upper part of body divided into three panels by the handles with wavy lines stretching below, in each of these panels a large palm tree with curling leaves and long drooping fronds and a rough stem, on either side of it a peculiar quirk, which recurs as a filling ornament by the neck and handles. *Chamber, south-west corner.* L.H. II.

16. Three-handled amphora, pl. XLI: h. 0·36 m., d. of mouth 0·155 m.; three small upright loop handles on the shoulder, at base and at neck a plastic ring; solid colour round base and on neck, above base three horizontal lines, on lower body a doubly alternating pattern of waves with high crests arranged so that each crest fits into the trough between the next pair of waves above or below, between them run pairs of curved lines fastened to loops and edged with dots,[3] on upper body and shoulder is a similar wave pattern except that the upper, or inverted, waves are not solid but speckled with dots. *Chamber, base found near door in centre.* L.H. II.

17. Alabastron with vertical sides, pl. XL: h. 0·045 m., d. 0·085 m.; wheel pattern

[1] See below, p. 158. [2] See below, p. 183.

[3] This is the pattern called by Evans the 'ogival canopy', *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 489 ff.; see below, pp. 153, 159.

on base with solid hub, on sides a conventional foliate spray design set horizontally, on shoulder between the handles a wave pattern with high crests edged with dots. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. I.

18. Alabastron with vertical sides, pl. XL: h. 0·055 m., d. 0·10 m.; concentric circles on base, on sides foliate design similar to that on no. 17 but only one row of leaves, on shoulder similar wave pattern, below neck row of dots. *Alcove.* L.H. II.

19. Alabastron with vertical sides, pl. XXXIX: h. 0·105 m., d. 0·205 m.; metallic lip; wavy stripes on base and sides, shoulder speckled with rows of dots in which between the handles is a high crested wave. *Chamber, south-west corner.* L.H. I.

20. Alabastron, pl. XL: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·10 m.; wheel pattern with solid hub on base, on shoulder continuous wave pattern with high crests between the handles, and field speckled with rows of dots. *Alcove.* L.H. I.

21. Alabastron, pl. XLIII: h. 0·065 m., d. 0·13 m.; wheel pattern with open hub on base, on shoulder continuous wave pattern with high crests between handles, edged with dots, below neck row of dots. *Alcove.* L.H. II.

22. Alabastron: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·215 m.; patterns on base and shoulder similar to that of no. 21, but the hub consists of concentric circles. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II.

23. Alabastron: h. 0·095 m., d. 0·215 m.; patterns on base and shoulder similar to those of no. 21, but no dots below neck. *Chamber, south-west corner, a few pieces in Alcove.* L.H. II.

24. Alabastron, pl. XLIII: h. 0·125 m., d. 0·19 m.; high type; patterns on base and shoulder similar to those of no. 21. *Chamber.* L.H. II–III.

25. Alabastron: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·12 m.; much restored; patterns on base and shoulder similar to those of no. 21. *Chamber.* L.H. II.

26. Alabastron, pl. XLIII: h. 0·08 m., d. 0·185 m.; patterns on base and shoulder similar to those of no. 21, but there is a double row of dots below the neck and a star of dots on each side of the wave crest. *Chamber, south-west corner.* L.H. II.

27. Alabastron, pl. XLIII: h. 0·075 m., d. 0·185 m.; concentric circles in centre of base, on shoulder continuous wave pattern and above crests between handles two short horizontal rows of dots. *Chamber, south-west angle resting in the lamp no. 47.* L.H. II–III.

28. Alabastron, pl. XL: h. 0·165 m., d. 0·14 m.; concentric circles on base, on shoulder a solid ivy-leaf between handles with a long waving stem extending under the handle to the left. *Chamber.* L.H. II–III.

29. Alabastron: h. 0·08 m., d. 0·16 m.; concentric circles on base round a solid centre, ivy-leaf pattern on shoulder similar to that of no. 28 above a thin wave pattern; poor fabric. *Chamber.* L.H. II–III.

30. Alabastron, pl. XXXIX: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·185 m.; wheel pattern on base, on shoulder an outlined ivy-leaf with curled lobes between each two handles and a waving stem extending below the handle to the left. *Chamber, Alcove, and Dromos.* L.H. II.

31. Jug, with bridged spout, pl. IV: h. 0·17 m., d. of mouth 0·085 m.; round base band of solid colour, on lower part of body three horizontal lines, on upper part of body a frieze of double axes on a ground of dotted lines. The axes have hafts with knobbed

tops and have attached to them what Evans calls the 'Sacral Knot'.[1] On neck a wavy line of dots with semicircles on either side, on handle regularly spaced dabs of paint, on lip groups of dashes with dots between; good fabric. *Chamber, near door.* L.H. I.

32. Rhyton, ovoid, pl. I: h. 0·15 m., d. of body 0·125 m.; body is covered with stippled ornament imitating the surface of an ostrich egg, at base round outlet is a solid band of red-brown colour to imitate gold binding as in the case of the actual ostrich egg rhyton from the Fifth Shaft Grave,[2] the mouthpiece is painted dark brown and separated from the body by a sharp plastic ring, lip is also plastically moulded; thus the mouthpiece would imitate one in metal or faience;[3] good fabric. See Tomb 517, no. 10, pl. I. *Chamber, mainly near door.* L.H. II.

33. Goblet, pl. XLI: h. 0·125 m., d. 0·12 m.; short stem, metallic lip, one ribbon handle standing a little above rim; body covered with a chessboard pattern with three horizontal lines, two straight and one wavy, below; base covered with solid colour. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. I.

34. Cup of Vaphio shape, compare no. 35, pl. XLI: h. 0·095 m., d. 0·115 m.; plastic ring round centre of body; on base a spiral, lower part of body has plain horizontal bands, upper has a conventionalized foliate design set horizontally, handle is decorated with dashes and has a metallic knob below. *Chamber.* L.H. I–II.

35. Cup of Vaphio shape, pl. XLI: h. 0·095 m., d. 0·12 m.; plastic ring round body just visible; patterns on base and body similar to those of no. 34. *Chamber.* L.H. I–II.

36. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. XLI: h. 0·085 m., d. 0·125 m.; one ribbon handle; bands, round base and rim, on body a frieze of hafted double axes, at top of haft a knob edged with a row of dots; the frieze is divided into panels by vertical rows of dots, and each panel contains one axe; covered inside with black glaze paint. *Alcove.* L.H. I.

37. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. XLI: h. 0·08 m., d. 0·12 m.; ribbon handle has metallic knob at base and traces of a stud at the top; round lower part of body two broad bands, of which the lower one has two added lines of white; upper part of body has a row of spirals with solid centres and linked by curved tangents, the latter and centres have added white dots; above and below tangents are loops; rim has a broad band of colour and has a row of small white dots above one continuous line in added white; inside unpainted. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. I.

38. Cup, tea-cup shape: h. 0·08 m., d. 0·115 m.; metallic handle like that of no. 37; the patterns are identical with those of no. 37, but have no added white; covered with black glaze paint inside. *Alcove.* L.H. I.

39. Shallow saucer, pl. II: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·13 m.; rolled metallic edge, on lip a round loop metallic handle with stud on rim and knob at foot; round body running spiral pattern with dots above and below the connecting lines, inside six ivy leaves arranged round a solid centre of black. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. I.

40. Shallow saucer, pl. I: h. 0·045 m., d. 0·09 m.; metallic loop handle and metallic rim; the handle has broad bands, the body is covered with stippled decoration, bordered by broad bands of solid colour on the rim and round the base; unpainted inside. *Chamber, north-east corner, by the bench.* L.H. II.

[1] *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 430 ff.; see below, p. 153. [2] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 146, no. 828, pl. CXLI.
[3] Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 116, no. 567, pls. CXLI, CXLII; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i. 1, A 635, pl. VIII.

41. Shallow saucer, pl. XLIV: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·086 m.; metallic loop handle and metallic rim; outside on body are three rows of short wavy lines between bands of solid colour on the rim and round the base; unpainted inside. *Chamber.* L.H. I–II.

42. Jug with stirrup handle and short beak, pl. XLII: h. 0·21 m.; plastic rings round the base and the foot of the neck; solid colour round base, on handle, and on lip; horizontal lines on neck and lower body; on upper body conventionalized papyrus flowers with wavy stems; red-brown on yellow buff, good fabric. *Alcove.* L.H. III.

43. Feeding bottle, pl. XLIII: h. 0·165 m.; basket handle spans lip, tubular spout projects from body on one side; covered all over with red-brown glaze paint, good fabric. *Chamber, found by side of edge of bench towards north end.* L.H. III.

44. Deep cup, pl. XLII: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·13 m.; one vertical ribbon handle on rim and shoulder, and opposite to it a small spout in the rim; unpainted; of coarse, thick, red clay full of particles of mica; the clay of the Mycenae area usually contains so far as we know no mica, but mica is very characteristic of the clay of the Cyclades, for instance Syros and Amorgos. So this vase may be a Cycladic importation, and this strengthens the suggestion that nos. 5, 7, 8, 9 are also of Cycladic origin.[1] *Chamber.* L.H. II.

45. Brazier,[2] for carrying charcoal, pl. XLIV: h. 0·085 m., with handle 0·22 m. long, d. 0·18 m.; the round handle ends in a blunt point, body is small and shallow, rim wide and spread out and folded up over root of handle like the brim of a Panama hat, which would protect the hand from the glowing charcoal; string marks on base; handle is flecked with bars in white; lip is decorated with groups of four or more parallel lines in white, the ends of which trickle down into the body; brick-red clay. Similar braziers, probably also for carrying live charcoal, have been found in Crete at Knossos and Phaistos.[3] *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. I.

46. Lamp, pl. XLIII: h. 0·075 m., d. 0·24 m.; unpainted; rough fabric; brick-red clay; rim is decorated with three incised lines and has two depressions for wicks on opposite sides; outside, the lower body has four rudely incised horizontal lines; under the rim midway between the wicks is a rough knob of clay to make a finger-rest for convenience in carrying the lamp. *Chamber, found* in situ *on the bench at the north end.* L.H. II.

47. Lamp, pl. XLIII: h. 0·09 m., d. 0·23 m.; type and fabric similar to those of no. 46; similar decoration of incised lines in and out; has two depressions for wicks; finger-rest existed but is now missing. *Chamber, south-west angle.* L.H. II.

48 Lamp, pl. XLIII: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·175 m.; no decoration outside; on rim incised lines; depressions for two wicks; edge broken and restored so that it cannot now be ascertained whether it had a finger-rest or not; ruder fabric than nos. 46, 47. *Chamber and Alcove.* L.H. II.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

49. Bronze dagger, pl. VII: length over all 0·25 m.; length of tang 0·065 m.; the pommel is missing; the tang is broken at the top and was originally covered with wood,

[1] See below, pp. 158, 163.

[2] Part of the lip is now missing, having been broken off and lost during the transference of the vases from Mycenae to the Nauplia Museum

[3] Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 28, fig. 38; see below, pp. 140, 151.

with the exception of a kidney-shaped piece on either side which may have been filled with inlay. The edges of the tang are slightly raised to grip the wood which was fastened in with four rivets, two in the shoulder and two in the tang; there may have been yet one more rivet in the broken part of the tang. *Alcove.*

50. Bronze knife, one edged, pl. VII: present length 0·19 m., the tip being broken, length of handle 0·067 m.; the handle was probably wood and was fastened in place by

Fig. 30. Tomb 518, Ivory Inlay, no. 54 (Scale 1:3). L.H. I–II.

four bronze rivets of which three are preserved; on back of blade three incised lines. *Chamber, south-east corner.*

51. Bronze knife, broken in two, pl. VII: l. 0·093 m., l. of tang 0·03 m.; similar in type to no. 50; the handle was of wood or bone fastened with two rivets, of which one is preserved. *Chamber, south-west corner.*

52. Obsidian arrow-heads, two; *a*, l. 0·025 m., with curved barbs and no tang; *Chamber*; *b*, similar to *a*, l. 0·035 m.; *Alcove.*

53. Porphyry bowl, fragment of rim only: 0·055 m. by 0·03 m.; typical Egyptian work of the Old Kingdom, Dynasties I–II.[1] *Chamber.*

54. Ivory inlay, fig. 30: the notched pieces are 0·015 m. by 0·017 m., the spirals are 0·06 m. by 0·05 m. As restored there are three rows of notched triangular pieces of ivory, with a narrow border above and below, and a spiral at either end; in the left hand spiral are two holes for attachment to a backing; the spirals are also scored at the back to make them adhere better. The ivory was much decayed, but the relative positions of the pieces were drawn before they were lifted. There may have been four rows of notched pieces. The whole was as found about 0·35 m. long. It probably formed the inlay of one side of a wooden box. *Chamber, west of Alcove, near floor.* L.H. I–II.

55. Ivory pyxides, fragments of two: *a*, 0·077 m. by 0·063 m.; the lower edge shows three holes, probably for attachment of the base; above it are four incised lines; the upper edge has also five incised lines; *b*, fragment of edge of similar pyxis with four incised lines. *Chamber, north-east corner.* L.H. I–II.

56. Ivory pyxides, fragments of two, larger, fig. 31: h. 0·042 m.; near lower edge a row of holes for attachment of base; occasional holes near upper rim, and on body, for attachment of decoration. *Chamber, west side, south corner.* L.H. I–II.

57. Ivory comb, two pieces, fig. 32: 0·05 m. by 0·025 m. by 0·011 m. thick; 0·023 m. by 0·025 m. by 0·011 m. thick; upper edge rounded, two horizontal moulded lines below; teeth broken off; in upper edge are sockets probably for the insertion of another piece of ivory to hold two sections of the comb together. *Chamber, south-west side.* L.H. I–II.

58. Ivory comb, three fragments: 0·08 m. by 0·022 m. by 0·004 m. thick; similar to no. 57, but no moulded lines; similar socket. *Chamber, south-west side.* L.H. I–II.

[1] Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 57, no. 97; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 31, footnote; see below, p. 223 f.

59. Boar's tusks, cut and worked, sixty-five and five fragments, pl. XXXVIII: they vary in size from 0·05 m. to 0·025 m.; pierced for attachment as protection to conical leather helmet.[1] One is bow-shaped like a pair of horns, measuring 0·065 m. long, and may have decorated the peak as a kind of crest as seen in the restoration. The large curved tusks seem to come from the body, the more or less oblong tusks of diminishing sizes from the cheek-pieces. One oblong tusk with two holes bored in the side probably

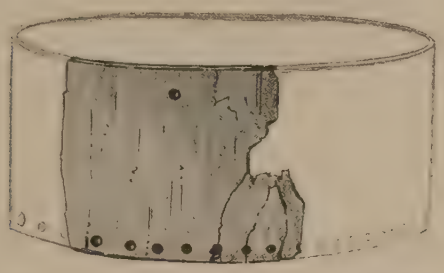

Fig. 31. Tomb 518, Ivory Pyxis, no. 56 (Scale about 2:3). L.H. I–II.

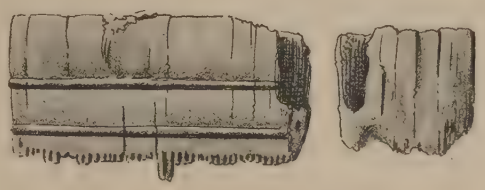

Fig. 32. Tomb 518, Ivory Comb, no. 57 (Scale 9:10). L.H. I–II.

comes as shown from the top of the cheek-piece. All these pieces of boar's tusks are pierced straight through at the ends from front to back, whereas those from Tomb 515, nos. 22, 46, pls. XXIX, XXX, are pierced obliquely through the under edges of the sides. Boar's tusks pierced similarly to these from Tomb 518 were found in the Fourth and Fifth Shaft Graves.[2] The Fourth Shaft Grave also contained boar's tusks pierced like those of Tomb 515, nos. 22, 46, and there are glass-paste substitutes of this type from Spata.[3] *Chamber and Alcove.*

60. Spindle whorls: *a*, terra-cotta, conical with splayed base, three complete, h. 0·015 m., and one broken; *b*, steatite, shanked type, one, d. 0·015 m. The terra-cotta type is the earlier, associated with Late Helladic I and II; the steatite belongs to Late Helladic III.[4] *Chamber.*

61. Sealstone, carnelian, tubular, pl. XXXVIII: l. 0·027 m.; bound at ends with gold; intaglio design of a figure leaping over bull, the upper part of the body, arms, head and hair being visible, the rest hidden by the gold mount which was probably added to repair a break. The stone was originally threaded on fine silver wire, no. 73. *Chamber, centre.*

62. Sealstone, agate, lentoid, pl. XXXVIII: l. 0·022 m.; intaglio design of a seated lion biting at a dart in his flank, the left fore paw being very realistically lifted off the ground; compare Tomb 515, no. 33, pl. XXVIII. *Chamber.*

63. Sealstone, onyx, lentoid, pl. XXXVIII: d. 0·015 m.; intaglio design of a flying dove. *Chamber.*

64 Sealstone, onyx, lentoid, pl. XXXVIII: d. 0·016 m.; intaglio design of two birds fighting in mid-air. *Chamber.*

65. Sealstone, onyx, button type with pierced shank, pl. XXXVIII: d. 0·009 m.

[1] See below, pp. 212 ff.

[2] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 112, nos. 521–31, pls. LXIX, LXX, p. 154, nos. 895–6, pl. LXXI.

[3] Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 2171–3.

[4] See above, p. 69, and below, pp. 102, 218 f.

h. 0·01 m.; intaglio design of a helmet protected with boar's tusks; the helmet has a boss and a big crest at the top and three projections below, of which two are cheek-pieces, and one to protect the back of the head, as in the ivory head from Spata.[1] *Chamber.*

Fig. 33. Tomb 518, Engraved Amber Bead, no. 69*a* (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. I–II.

66. Sealstone, amethyst, lentoid, pl. XXXVIII: d. 0·016 m.; bull with uncertain object, perhaps a man, before him; behind a pole or spear. *Alcove.*

67. Carnelian bead, amygdaloid, pl. VIII: l. 0·026 m.; with lines incised horizontally. *Chamber.*

68. Stone beads, pl. VIII: *a*, carnelian, oval, fourteen,[2] l. 0·023 m. to 0·025 m.; *b*, onyx, spherical, one, d. 0·02 m.; *c*, agate, lentoid, two, d. 0·022 m.; *d*, carnelian, spherical, one, d. 0·013 m.; *e*, carnelian, cylindrical, one, l. 0·05 m.; *f*, carnelian, lentoid, one, d. 0·022 m.; *g*, amethyst, amygdaloid, one, l. 0·028 m.; *h*, amethyst, spherical, one, d. 0·011 m., polished; *i*, amethyst, spherical, one, d. 0·09 m., polished. *a–h*; *Chamber*, *Alcove*, *i*.

Fig. 34. Tomb 518, Amber Beads, no. 69*c* (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. I–II.

69. Amber beads; *a*, amygdaloid, one, fig. 33, l. 0·03 m., on obverse an intaglio design of a bull, on reverse horizontal markings imitating almond; *b*, spherical, one, d. 0·011 m., with ribs and fine incised lines; *c*, discoid and spheroid, about a hundred and twenty and several fragments, fig. 34, the sizes range from 0·045 m. in diameter to less than 0·01 m. *Chamber.* L.H. I–II.

70. Seal of glass, lentoid, fig. 35: d. 0·017 m.; with intaglio design of a bull; two holes for threading. *Chamber.* L.H. I–II.

71. Beads of glass *a–c*, and faience *d–f*, pl. VIII: *a*, spherical, six, diam. ranges from 0·013 m. to 0·018 m., bluish-white to greyish-blue-green; *b*, spherical, one, 0·018 m., yellowish-white; *c*, spheroid, two, d. 0·01 m., grey-black, one ribbed; *d*, round and flat like a washer, one, d. 0·008 m., blue; *e*, spherical, ribbed vertically, two, d. 0·003 m., blue; *f*, spherical, eighty, d. 0·006 m., blue, varying shades. *All from Chamber except b found in stones of Doorway.*

72. Stone bead, one, not measured. *Chamber.*

[1] Bossert, *Alt-Kreta*[2], fig. 226.

[2] Similar beads from Third Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 58, nos. 111, 115, pl. XXV.

73. Silver wire, four fragments on which no. 61 was threaded.[1]

74. Gold ring, pl. XXXVIII: d. of ring 0·018 m., of bezel 0·012 m.; bezel ornamented with eight-petalled flower in gold with blue paste centre. *Chamber, centre.*

75. Gold pendant shaped like pomegranate, pl. XXXVIII: l. 0·015 m.; the eye was probably filled with blue paste; the body is ribbed; the tiny gold beads of the granulated work at the base and round the eye were each soldered on separately.[2] *Chamber.*

Fig. 35. Tomb 518, Seal of Glass, no. 70 (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. II.

76. Gold necklace ornament, shaped like chrysalis,[3] pl. XXXVIII: l. 0·01 m. *Chamber.*

77. Gold necklace ornament, shaped like figure-of-eight shield, pl. XXXVIII: l. 0·006 m. *Chamber, west wall.*

Tomb 519 (fig. 36).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a long narrow dromos which, about 0·75 m. wide at its mouth, widens to 1·10 m. in front of the tomb

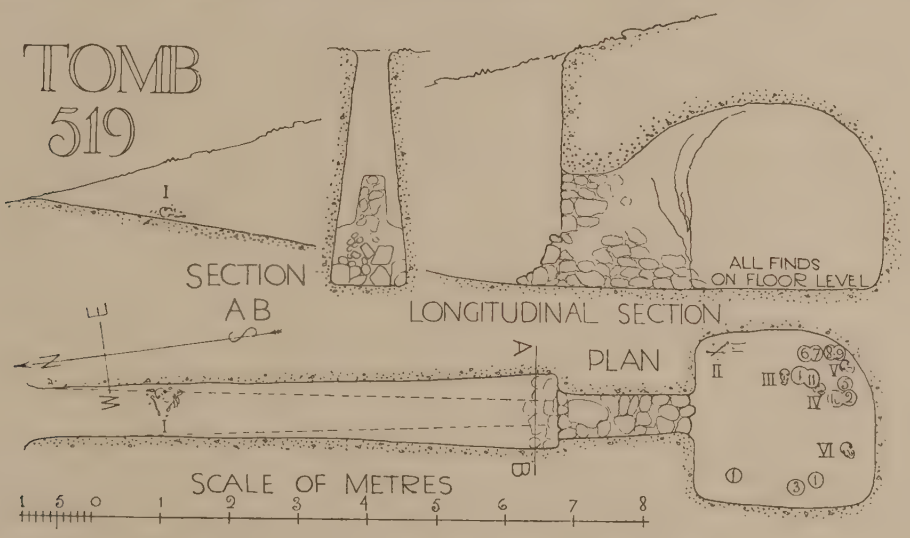

Fig. 36. Tomb 519, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

door. In section the dromos is wedge-shaped, and the sides are regularly and straightly cut. At the north end of the dromos a broken skull, no. 1, and other bones were lying just above the floor. These probably represent an early interment, as in Tombs 517 and 530, removed from the chamber to make room for

[1] Silver wire was found at Vaphio, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1839.
[2] For similar pendants in gold see below, p. 195.
[3] See Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1925, p. 55, *Palace of Minos*, iii, p. 151.

later comers. In front of the door was a rough pile of stones more or less impeding the approach to it. Among these stones, together with other unimportant and miscellaneous L.H. III potsherds, were the fragments of an ordinary unpainted L.H. III kylix similar to Tomb 520, no. 27 (pl. XVI). The doorway, which is 0·60 m. wide, 2·00 m. deep, and about 1·60 m. high, was walled up with packed stones. The chamber, which is shaped like a square with one angle rounded off, measures about 2·50 m. each way, and is about 2·70 m. high. Within the chamber we found no burial actually *in situ* in its original condition. In the north-east angle were the leg bones of a skeleton, no. II, but no skull with them. Towards the south-east corner were three skulls, very much broken. With two of these, nos. III and IV, were found a terra-cotta figurine of an ox (11) and an askos (4). Beyond them and near another skull, no. V, all round which lay miscellaneous human bones, were a vase (2), the ivory rosettes (12, 13), and six figurines (5–10). Along the south wall were other bones, probably the remains of skeletons that had been brushed to the side, and in the south-west angle another skull, no. VI, which was that of an adult male of advanced age, and probably belonged to some of the bones found near by. At the south end of the west side was a large jug (3), and the top of a stirrup-vase (1), of which the base lay in the north-west angle. All the vases and figurines found are of L.H. III date, and nothing earlier appeared anywhere in the tomb. We can thus consider this as a typical L.H. III tomb, made and used in that period. Since the centre of the tomb was quite clear of any bones or offerings it would appear that all the interments had been swept to the sides to prepare for some later burials that never took place.

Finds

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Stirrup-vase, pl. XLIV: h. 0·105 m., d. 0·125 m.; squat globular shape; thick and thin lines on body, on shoulder murex pattern; good fabric. L.H. III.

2. Three-handled amphora, pl. XLIV: h. 0·13 m.; base missing; red solid colour on neck, fine lines round body, between handles oblique lines. L.H. III.

3. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLIV: h. 0·22 m.; three plain bands on body, one each on shoulder, base, and lip, wavy line on handle. L.H. III.

4. Askos: h. 0·075 m., l. 0·10 m.; same type and patterns as Tomb 521, no. 4, pl. XIX. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

5. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLIV: h. 0·13 m.; solid stem, crescent arms; wears polos; hair rendered plastically on back of head and neck. L.H. III.

6. Terra-cotta figurine, female: h. 0·135 m.; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.

7. Terra-cotta figurine, female: h. 0·127 m.; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.
8. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLIV: h. 0·12 m.; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.
9. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLIV: h. 0·125 m.; similar to no. 5. L.H. III.
10. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLIV: h. 0·11 m.; similar to no 5. L.H. III.
11. Terra-cotta figurine, ox: l. 0·085 m., h. 0·065 m.; similar to Tomb 527, no. 7, pls. XXIII, XLVII. L.H. III.
12. Ivory discs, two almost complete, one fragmentary: d. 0·02 m.; decorated with simple rosette; pierced in centre.
13. Ivory discs, fragmentary, two: d. 0·032 m.; decorated with double rosette; one pierced in centre, the other unpierced.
14. *a*. Ivory bars, narrow, five fragments; *b*. ivory plaque, one fragment.
15. Bone pin, point only.
16. Bead of glass, spherical, fragment: d. 0·015 m.; bluish.
17. Glass paste, two fragments; blue; traces of decoration.
18. Bead of glass, torpedo shaped, one: l. 0·035 m.; ends broken; decorated with blue and white stripes.
19. Stone bead, tubular, fragment: l. 0·02 m.; dark red.

For Tombs 520–524 see North Bank, pp. 21 ff.

Tomb 525 (fig. 37).

The entrance faces north and is approached by a long narrow dromos about 6·25 m. long and 1·10 m. wide. It is narrow in proportion to its length, and in section is wedge-shaped. The doorway is 0·85 m. wide and 1·75 m. deep, and was blocked with stones for a height of about 0·85 m. above the level of the floor. The upper part of the door was open, and although the soft rock directly above the door had fallen away, the door in its original state was probably about 1·50 m. to 1·60 m. high. The chamber is large, and measures about 3·75 m. by 4·75 m., and about 1·85 m. high. Although the upper part of the door was unwalled, the tomb did not seem to have been plundered. The vases and skeletons in it did not seem to have suffered any further disturbance than that usually caused by the introduction of newcomers into the tomb. It had not like Tomb 531 been almost completely cleared, so it is possible that the upper part of the doorway was left unblocked so as to make access to the chamber more easy. On the east side of the chamber were found the remains of two skeletons, nos. I and II, which had obviously been pushed aside to make room for later comers. With the former was found a figurine (12). Similarly, in the north-west angle were the remains of another skeleton, no. III, also brushed aside, and with the bones were a stirrup-vase (4) and a jug (8). In the south-west corner were other bones, skeleton no. IV, in a similar condition, which probably represented another of the earlier tenants of the tomb. In the western part of the tomb lay skeleton no. V, which seemed to have been laid out in the

usual position (for instance, like skeleton no. 1 in the pit in Tomb 527), with the head to the west. The bones were very much decayed, and the skull was broken. By it were the amphora (2) and two figurines (11 and 13). More fragments of

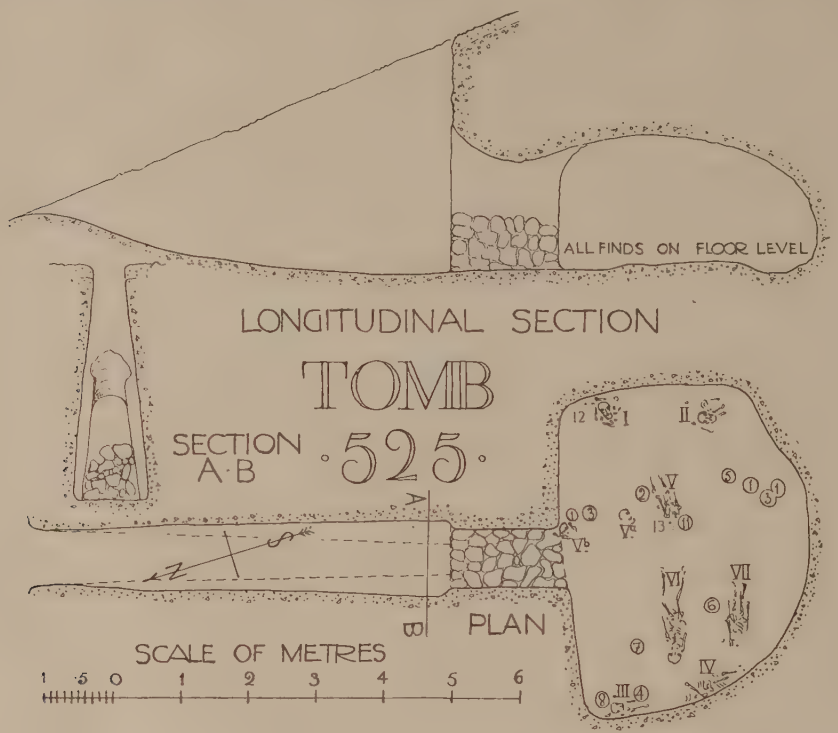

Fig. 37. Tomb 525, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

skulls, nos. v*a* and v*b*, lay just within the doorway by the eastern jamb, with fragments of two vases (1 and 3). The other pieces of these vases with one more (5), lay against the back wall of the tomb. Since the fragments of these vases were so widely separated, and since by the skull fragments nos. v*a* and v*b* no other bones were found, one might have considered v, v*a*, and v*b* as parts of one skeleton, and assign to it not only the figurines (11 and 13), but also the four vases (1, 2, 3, 5). Nos. v*a* and v*b*, however, represent two skulls both of adult males, one of whom was of advanced age. The disturbance of these three burials and their offerings may have occurred when the two later skeletons, nos. VI and VII, were laid in the western part of the chamber. These two lay in the usual position, although the bones were in very bad condition, with their heads to the west, and by the left leg of no. VII lay the unpainted jug (6). The presence of this unpainted jug and the lack of other offerings in the light of the evidence from other tombs such as Tombs 515, 518, and 529, where the latest

burials were unaccompanied by offerings of any description, make us consider these two skeletons, nos. VI and VII, the latest interments in this tomb. The amphora (7) may belong to skeleton no. VI, but might equally have belonged to no. III. To judge by the vases found with no. III, and those we have assigned to no. V, which are all of good, well-developed L.H. III style, this tomb was made and used only in the L.H. III period, for neither in the dromos nor in the chamber were any earlier potsherds found. We can therefore consider the shape of the dromos and doorway as typical of an L.H. III chamber tomb.

FINDS

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Jug with cutaway neck, pl. XLV: h. 0·36 m.; the shape is metallic, the lip turns over, there is a central rib on the handle and a metallic knob at its base and plastic rings at the neck and foot; simple lines on neck, solid colour on base, body decorated with groups of six vertically sweeping lines alternating with broad bands, grained pattern; paint varies from red to very dark brown on buff biscuit; compare for shape and pattern Tomb 523, no. 2, and Tomb 533, no. 19, pls. XX, LVI. L.H. III.

2. Three-handled amphora, pl. XLV: h. 0·19 m.; red-brown solid colour on neck and base, broad and narrow bands on body and shoulder, between handles wavy line; good fabric. L.H. III.

3. Two-handled amphora, pl. XLV: h. 0·17 m.; unpainted, yellow buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

4. Stirrup-vase, pl. XLV: h. 0·105 m.; globular shape, Tell-el-Amarna style; alternate thin and thick lines on body, chevrons on shoulder; good fabric. L.H. III.

5. Deep bowl or krater, pl. XLV: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·135 m.; between handles on each side three joined but rather carelessly drawn spirals; lower part of body unpainted; concentric circles on base inside; good fabric. L.H. III.

6. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLV: h. 0·14 m.; yellow buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

7. Three-handled amphora, pl. XLV: h. 0·14 m.; red-brown solid colour on base and neck; on body thick and thin lines, between handles belt of oblique lines; good fabric. L.H. III.

8. Jug with stirrup handle, pl. XLV: h. 0·115 m.; probably had spout now missing; unpainted. L.H. III.

9. Kylix, very fragmentary; d. 0·125 m.; two loop handles just under rim; unpainted. L.H. III.

10. Kylix, much broken; d. 0·125 m.; similar to no. 9. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

11. Terra-cotta figurine, female, head only; wears polos, hair indicated plastically; broken at neck. L.H. III.

12. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLV: h. 0·12 m.; round body; no arms, and no hair indicated; solid columnar stem. L.H. III.

13. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLV: h. 0·09 m.; arms folded across body; hair indicated by paint; wears polos; hollow columnar stem. L.H. III.

14. Bronze awl or bodkin: l. 0·05 m.; it was set in a wooden handle, l. 0·023 m., traces of which remain.

15. Spindle whorls, steatite, conical, two: *a*. h. 0·013 m., dark grey; *b*. h. 0·01 m., purple.

Tomb 526 (fig. 38).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a dromos about 5·00 m.

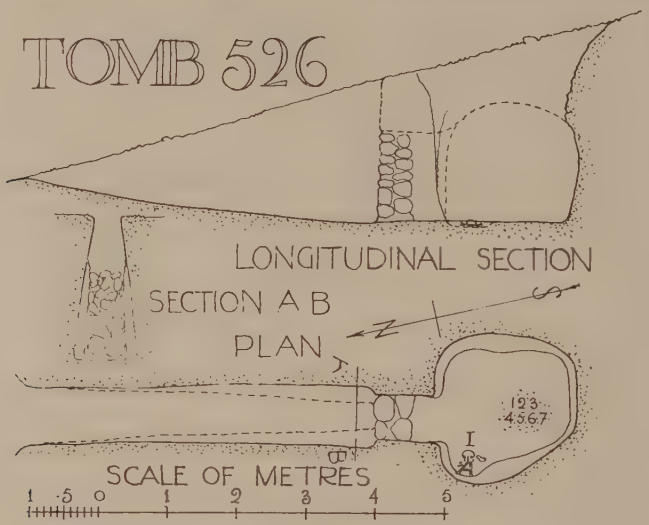

Fig. 38. Tomb 526, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

long and 0·80 m. to 0·90 m. wide. It is wedge-shaped in section, but has not the strongly marked form of Tombs 519 and 525. The doorway is about 1·00 m. deep, 0·90 m. wide and 1·30 m. high. It is, as usual, narrower than the dromos, and was blocked by rough stone walling (pl. XLVI) which, however, did not extend for its full depth. The chamber is irregular in shape, and measures about 2·00 m. by 2·20 m. The roof had collapsed. In the dromos the only noticeable potsherd found was a fragment of an L.H. III mug of the usual shape and style.[1] In the chamber there were no vases of any kind, and only a few quite indeterminate potsherds of no importance. There was only one interment, no. 1, that of an adult female whose remains were found heaped together in the north-west angle. To this, however, probably belonged the three scarabs (1–3) and the various beads (4–7) which were found together in the centre of the southern part of the tomb.

[1] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXI, 150.

From the evidence of the scarabs we can date this tomb without hesitation to the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., or, in other words, to the beginning of the Third Late Helladic period. It is unfortunate that no vases were found in it, for it would have been very valuable, for the dating of other tombs and deposits, to have had definitely dated L.H. III vases. We can, however, say from the scarabs that tombs of this shape with a long narrow dromos wedge-shaped in section and with a deep doorway are definitely of L.H. III date. This confirms the suggestion put forward that tombs with a broad short dromos with arched sides, and with a shallow entrance, in all of which we found L.H. I–II pottery, should be dated to the L.H. I or L.H. II periods.

Finds

From the Chamber.

Miscellaneous Objects.

1. Scarab, steatite, pl. IX: l. 0·02 m.; pierced for suspension; coated with white glass paste, of which the green glaze has now almost vanished; it shows in intaglio the Horus hawk with the ankh and uraeus, 'Ankh-Hor'; Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty, probably reign of Amenhotep III.[1]

2. Scarab, steatite, pl. IX: l. 0·02 m.; pierced for suspension; coated with white glass paste with traces of green glaze; it shows in intaglio a goose with doubtful signs, possibly to be read as 'Maat-se-Re', daughter of the Sun; Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty, probably reign of Amenhotep III.[2]

3. Scarab, steatite, pl. IX: l. 0·007 m.; pierced for suspension; dark grey; it shows in intaglio an uncertain animal, a ram, a deer, or a dog, within a frame of four lines; probably Mycenaean, or perhaps Cypriote, imitation of Egyptian work; poor style.

4. Stone beads, pl. IX.

   a. Carnelian, spherical, three: d. 0·01 m.
   b. Carnelian, amygdaloid, two: l. 0·018 m.
   c. Onyx, cylindrical, one: l. 0·016 m.
   d. Onyx, spherical, five: d. 0·012 m.–0·015 m.
   e. Crystal, spherical, one: d. 0·011 m.
   f. Agate, amygdaloid, one: l. 0·017 m.
   g. Dark speckled stone, probably local, spherical, four: d. 0·012 m.–0·018 m.
   h. Dark speckled stone, oval, one: l. 0·015 m.
   i. Steatite, spherical, one: d. 0·013 m., dark with ribbed decoration.

5. Amber beads, three, pl. IX, two spherical: d. 0·014 m.; one oval, l. 0·0165 m.

6. Bronze bead, spherical, pl. IX: d. 0·015 m.

[1] Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 56, no. 95.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 96.

7. Beads of glass *a–d, f, h, i,* and faience *e, g,* pl. IX.
   a. Spherical, eight, d. 0·01 m.–0·013 m.; various colours, grey-blue, greenish-white or bluish-green.
   b. Spherical, nineteen (one broken), d. 0·013 m.–0·016 m., yellow, each with three white eyes, sometimes picked out with blue; one has a waving band between the eyes almost making a linked spiral design.
   c. Spheroid with flattened ends, ribbed vertically, one, d. 0·01 m., blue.
   d. Spheroid with flattened ends, ribbed diagonally, one, d. 0·01 m., grey.
   e. Tripartite, rather like a miniature mace-head, one, d. 0·013 m, white.
   f. Spherical, one, d. 0·01 m., white, not illustrated.
   g. Lantern-shaped, hollow, blue faience, one, h. 0·016 m, d. 0·02 m., similar to a gold bead from Mycenae, Tomb 2,[1] and to faience beads from Mycenae,[2] Nauplia, Tomb Δ *b*,[3] Goumenitsa,[4] Enkomi, Tomb 88, and Ialyssos.[5]
   h. Tubular, fragmentary, one, d. 0·01 m., deep blue, not illustrated.
   i. Spherical, very fragmentary, one, not illustrated.

Tomb 527 (fig. 39).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a long dromos about 5·00 m. long by 1·15 m. wide. The dromos is narrow, but widens slightly before the door, and is wedge-shaped in section, though the sides are slightly arched. At a high level in the south-west angle before the door was found an unenclosed burial with no funeral offerings of any kind. This is possibly a Christian interment like those found at a high level in the dromos of Tomb 518. Some 1·70 m. south of the beginning of the dromos remains of four skeletons were found heaped together (pl. XLVI) in a space about 0·75 m. long and 1·15 m. wide, which, as seen in the plan, had been widened by cutting slightly into the sides of the dromos. With these skeletons, nos. II–V, were found several vases and figurines (1–8) in the positions shown on the plan, and a horn and three legs of a terra-cotta ox like (7). None of the vases seem very late in date, though all are L.H. III. The stirrup vase (3) is of Tell-el-Amarna style, and the alabastron (4) seems no later than those associated with the later burials in Tomb 529.[6] The female figurine is similar to Tomb 525, nos. 9 and 10, which again come early rather than late in L.H. III.[7] The one vase which seems at first sight late is the jug decorated in the light on dark style (5), but in this connexion it must be remem-

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 137, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2307.

[2] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2515 (= Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1887, pl. XIII, 6); Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3258.

[3] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3424: Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans d'Antiquité*, VI, p. 946, fig. 509.

[4] Ἀρχ. Δελτ., IX, Παράρτημα, p. 17, fig. 3.

[5] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. C, 18, three, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 157, fig. 82, Tomb 22, no. 22, 3552, one; see also below, p. 205.

[6] See p. 104, nos. 13, 14.

[7] Professor Blegen says this agrees with the evidence of tombs at the Argive Heraion.

bered that sherds decorated in this style were found at Tell-el-Amarna,[1] and we should, therefore, be wrong in assigning too late a date to this vase. As in the case of the interments in the dromoi of Tombs 514, 517, 529, and 530 these

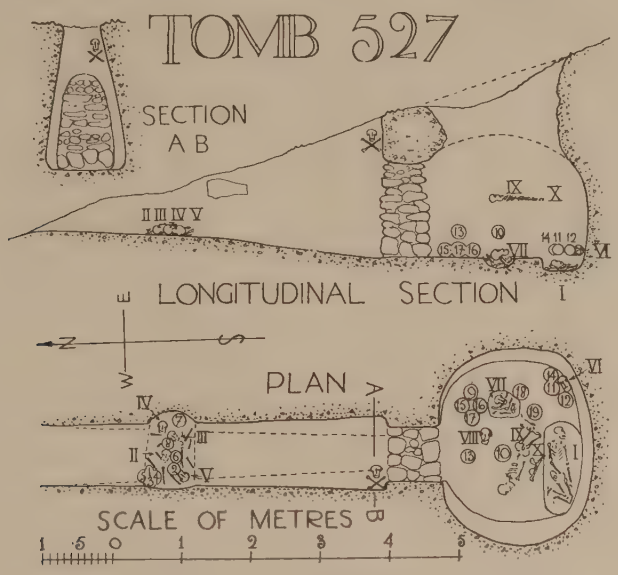

Fig. 39. Tomb 527. Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

four skeletons and the offerings with them are probably the remains of earlier burials which were cleared out of the chamber to make way for later comers. All the miscellaneous potsherds found in the dromos were of L.H. III date except for one L.H. II and one Geometric sherd. Just to the south of these burials, nos. II–V, there is a poros slab high up in the east side of the dromos. We left it undisturbed, thinking it was probably one end of a late grave of Hellenistic or Roman date, similar to the plundered grave in the dromos of Tomb 531. It may, however, be the covering slab of a niche similar to that in the east side of the dromos of Tomb 529.

The doorway is 0·80 m. wide and deep, and about 1·40 m. high. It was completely blocked with a roughly packed stone wall. The chamber is nearly oval and measures 2·00 m. by 2·80 m., and has, in the south-west angle, a pit 1·30 m. long by 0·60 m. wide and 0·20 m. deep. The roof of the chamber had collapsed owing to the softness of the rock. The shallow pit contained one skeleton, which, although the pit was unroofed, seemed to be undisturbed. The skeleton lay towards its left side. The head seems to have been slightly raised. The knees had been bent upwards, and had fallen over. The left hand lay by the side, but the right rested in the lap. This, since we found many examples

[1] e.g. *British Museum Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 185, fig. 262.

of it, seems to have been the regular attitude in which to place the dead in the tombs.[1] There were no offerings with this skeleton, no. I, so we cannot decide its date. Possibly, since it lay in the pit, it was the earliest burial in the tomb. Above the floor of the chamber was a layer about 0·30 m. thick which contained vases and the remains of interments. There were the remains of at least three skeletons, nos. VI–VIII, for there were three skulls, but none of them was undisturbed. All, to judge by the way they lay in the midst of a heap of bones, had been pushed aside. All lay close to the sides of the chamber as shown on the plan. Three of the vases (11, 12, 14) belonged probably to skeleton no. VI, since they lay among the bones round the skull. Four of the vases (9, 15, 16, 17) lay among the pile of bones, which contained skulls nos. VII and VIII, so it is not easy to say to which skeleton they belonged. The remaining four vases (10, 13, 18 and 19) lay by themselves in different parts of the tomb, and cannot be brought into connexion with any interment. To judge by the emptiness of the western side of the chamber, it would seem that the chamber had been cleared, perhaps by brushing skeletons nos. VI-VIII to the east side, and removing nos. II–V to the dromos, so as to make room for newcomers, but for some reason or other had not been made use of. Later, after earth[2] and stones, filtering through the doorway or falling from the sides and roof of soft rock, had accumulated in the chamber, two other interments were made, one no. IX, about 0·85 m. above the floor in the middle of the chamber, with the head to the west and, so far as could be ascertained, in the same attitude as skeleton no. I in the pit. A few odd bones (pelvis and thigh bones), between this skeleton and the south-west corner, seem to indicate that there had been some other burial, no. X, at this level, but no skull was found with them. This was presumably the last burial in the tomb, but when it took place we have no means of knowing since no offerings were found with it. All the vases and the two figurines from the chamber are of good, well-developed L.H. III style, and the large stirrup-vases (13 and 14) are of good fabric, although probably later than the Tell-el-Amarna style. We may thus put this tomb neither late nor early in the L.H. III period. The lack of depth in the doorway and the arching of the sides of the dromos suggest that it might be an earlier tomb, but apart from the one stray sherd of L.H. II from the dromos, nothing was found to support this suggestion. It is a comparatively small tomb, but size seems to be no indication of date. It may be contemporary with Tomb 525, and the stirrup-vase (3) with the earlier interments removed to the dromos, nos. II–V, suggests it was made about the Tell-el-Amarna period.

[1] See below p. 139.

[2] Some of the earth might have been brought in to cover the remains of earlier burials in preparation for new comers. See below, p. 141.

FINDS

I. *From the Dromos.*

A. *Pottery.*

1. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLVII: h. 0·15 m.; unpainted, yellow buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

2. Feeding bottle, pl. XLVII: h. 0·12 m.; basket handle spans neck, tubular spout on one side of body; covered with red glaze paint. L.H. III.

3. Stirrup-vase, pl. XLVII: h. 0·09 m.; globular shape, Tell-el-Amarna style, on body alternate thick and thin lines, on neck conventional flowers. L.H. III.

4. Alabastron, pl. XLVII: h. 0·065 m., d. 0·10 m.; high type; on base concentric circles, continuous wave pattern on lower part of body; red paint on pink biscuit. L.H. III.

5. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLVII: h. 0·09 m.; part of neck missing; covered with thin washy black paint on which in front is painted in white a conventionalized octopus pattern. L.H. III.

6. Basket-shaped vase, pl. XLVII: d. 0·07 m.; handle missing; sides have pattern of vertical stripes. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

7. Terra-cotta figurine, ox, pls. XXIII, XLVII: l. 0·11 m., h. 0·09 m.; striped. L.H. III.

8. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLVII: h. 0·125 m.; round body; hair plastically rendered as a plait down the back, arms not indicated, solid columnar stem. L.H. III.

II. *From the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

9. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. XLVII: h. 0·27 m.; raised ring at base of neck which is narrow with spreading lip; pattern nearly vanished, plain bands on body and neck, on shoulder frieze of conventionalized argonauts; greenish yellow clay; poor fabric. L.H. III.

10. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·19 m.; shape similar to that of no. 9 but no raised ring at base of neck; simple bands on body and neck, on shoulder frieze of diamonds; paint almost vanished; poor fabric. L.H. III.

11. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·165 m.; for the shape compare Tomb 519, no. 3, pl. XLIV; simple red-brown bands on centre of body, neck and lip; yellowish-buff ware; good fabric. L.H. III.

12. Three-handled amphora, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·165 m.; red-brown solid colour on base and neck, fine lines round body, between handles hatched pattern; for the shape and decoration compare Tomb 525, no. 7, pl. XLV. L.H. III.

13. Stirrup-vase, pl. XLVII: h. 0·11 m.; tallish globular shape; thick and thin lines on body, on shoulder row of diamonds, concentric circles on base; good fabric. L.H. III.

14. Stirrup-vase, pl. XLVII: h. 0·10 m.; tallish globular shape; thick and thin lines on body, on shoulder two lines of crescents, wavy line drawn round centre of body; good fabric. L.H. III.

15. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. XLVII: h. 0·10 m.; squat globular body; thick and thin lines on neck and body, paint almost vanished; greenish-yellow clay; poor fabric. L.H. III.

16. Three-handled jug, pl. XLVII : h. 0·075 m. ; vertical loop handle below neck, on either side of shoulder a rudimentary horizontal loop handle ; between handles on body belts of six vertical lines framed above and below by broad horizontal lines. L.H. III.

17. Feeding bottle, pl. XLVII : h. 0·08 m. ; basket handle spans lip, tubular spout on one side of body ; on each side three groups of two vertical lines each, bordered by broad horizontal lines above and below. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

18. Terra-cotta figurine, ox, pl. XLVII : h. 0·07 m., l. 0·105 m. ; paint almost vanished ; poor fabric. L.H. III.

19. Terra-cotta figurine, female, pl. XLVII : h. 0·10 m. ; head missing ; hair plastically rendered as a plait down the back ; round body, arms not shown, solid columnar stem. L.H. III.

Tomb 528 (fig. 40).

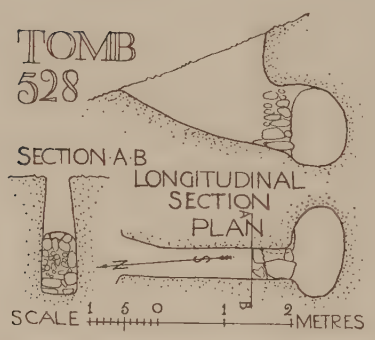

Fig. 40. Tomb 528, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a short dromos about 2·00 m. long and 0·45 m. wide. The doorway, which is of the same width as the dromos, is 0·45 m. deep, and was walled up with rough stone packing. The door was about 0·85 m. high. The chamber is roughly oval, and measures about 0·75 m. by 1·30 m. The door is not in the middle of the side of the chamber, but in the north-west corner. Except for a few, not more than six, plain, coarse, and unidentifiable potsherds, this tomb was found quite empty. There were no traces of bones or of any interment in it at all. It is the smallest tomb we found. It may have been made for a child whose bones have entirely perished, but even then we should have expected some funeral offerings, especially since the walling of the door was intact. In shape this tomb resembles Tomb 517, and might perhaps be dated to the same period, but in the case of so small a tomb one cannot judge too much by plan or shape. In the absence of finds we cannot, therefore, attempt to date this tomb.

Tomb 529 (fig. 41).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a dromos cut out of the rock, which is here somewhat harder, 6·80 m. long, and 1·20 m. to 2·00 m. wide. The dromos is wide in proportion to its length and, as usual, the sides slope inwards towards the top. They are, however, not straight, but somewhat curved

or arched (pl. XLIX) like the dromos walls of Tomb 515. At its beginning it descends steeply towards the door, and there are three rough steps hewn in the rock, similar to those in Tombs 515 and 516, to facilitate descent to the chamber.

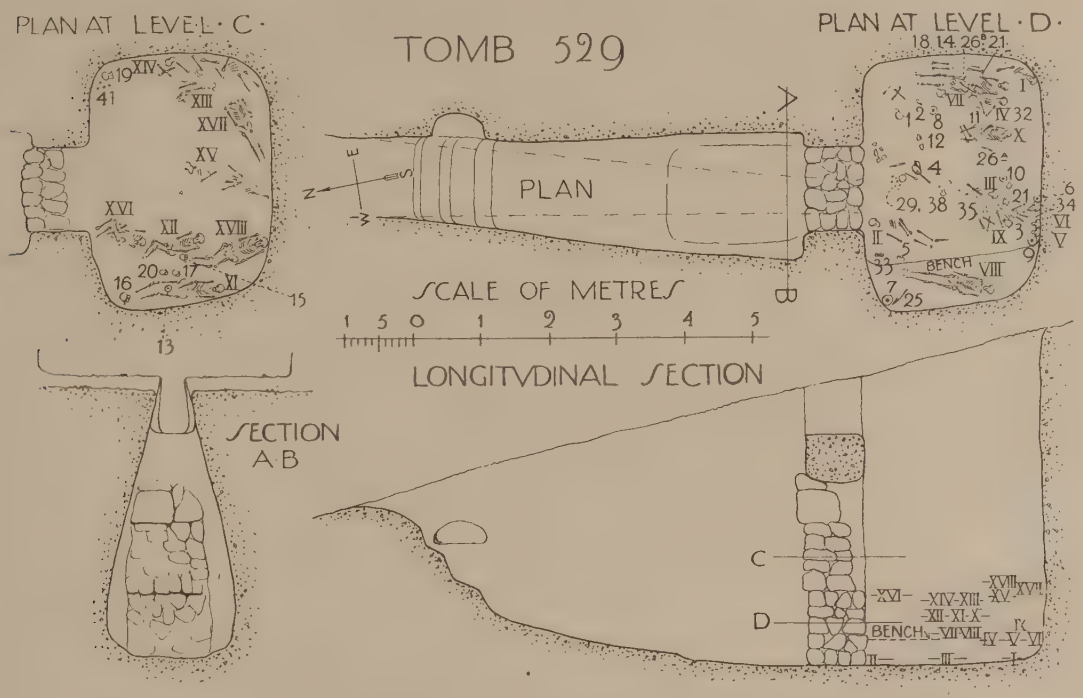

Fig. 41. Tomb 529, Plans and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

On the left or east of the steps there is a small niche (pl. XLIX) cut out in the rock, 0·70 m. long, 0·40 m. deep, and 0·40 m. high. It was closed with a slab, but contained nothing except soft friable earth. At the bottom of the dromos before the doorway, the floor is cut out some 0·30 m. deeper than the rest, for a width of 1·40 m., and a length of 2·00 m. This cutting is similar to that observed in the inner part of the dromos of Tomb 515. In clearing the dromos we found some miscellaneous potsherds. There were two sherds of patterned Early Helladic ware, three sherds of L.H. I–II pottery, and one or two other sherds of the same style, which proved to be fragments of the octopus vase (21) from the chamber, some pieces of the faience lid (39), and finally many pieces of ordinary L.H. III ware of no importance.

The doorway is 1·25 m. wide, 0·85 m. deep, and 2·70 m. high. It was completely blocked by a rough stone walling, which seemed to have been built in three stages (fig. 41 and pl. XLIX). The first and lowest part ran the full depth of the door; it was 1·10 m. high, and was carefully packed. The second part was 1·00 m.

high, but did not run the full depth of the door, being only two stones thick. In front it slightly overlapped the face of the lower part, as though it had been built when the dromos was left filled with soil up to the level of the top of the lowest part. The upper part, about 0·60 m. high, consisted of three or four large stones thrust in to block the small opening remaining between the top of the second part and the roof. This again was not flush with the face of the part immediately below, but projected slightly as though it too had been made when the earth in the dromos had been left level with the top of the second part. These three successive stages of the walling of the door show that the tomb was in use for a long time, and was continually being reopened for fresh interments.[1]

The chamber is roughly rectangular, measuring 3·70 m. by 2·60 m., and, as its roof had collapsed, we were unable to ascertain its original height, but it probably would have been at least 3·00 m. high. Along the west wall runs a rock-cut bench 0·70 m. wide and 0·40 m. high.

Within the chamber we found the remains of eighteen different interments at various levels. Owing to the disturbed condition of the lower and earlier skeletons, it was not easy to decide which vases or other funeral offerings belonged to any particular skeleton. The earliest skeleton is probably no. I, which was found pushed aside in the south-east corner, lying close on the rock floor. Not far removed in date are probably nos. II, an adult female, and III, a young female. The former lay about 0·10 m. above the floor, with its head to the north in the north-west corner, and the latter lay more or less in the middle of the tomb with its head to the south, and rested on a bed of yellow clay[2] about 0·06 m. high, which had been specially introduced into the tomb for this purpose, and overlaid *disiecta membra* of earlier interments. To the earliest burials we can assign the cup (1), which stood directly on the rock floor, two amphorae (2 and 3), and perhaps the askos (4), all of which lay just above the floor. The bronze scale-pans (29), the ivory rod (32), and the glass beads (38), belong to one of these first burials, and also the carnelian necklace (36), which was found close to the rock floor. The ivory comb (33) was found close to skeleton no. II, and may belong to it. The next layer of skeletons is represented by no. IV, which, though disturbed, still lay more or less *in situ*, and by nos. V, a young man, and VI, which had been pushed out of the way to make room for others. Skeleton no. VII, which lay above and to the side of no. IV, had probably been the cause of its disturbance. With this skeleton no. VII can be associated a steatite spindle whorl (40*a*), the alabastron (14), the jug (18), and perhaps another alabastron (11). Beneath it lay pieces of the octopus amphora (21), the faience lid (39), and the large alabastron (12). These two vases and the faience

[1] See below, p. 145.

[2] See below, p. 140.

lid should then belong to the earlier skeletons, perhaps to no. IV, if not to no. V or no. VI, or even perhaps to one of the first three. To the early burials may also be assigned the two shallow saucers (5, 6), for the fragments of the former were found at this level in different parts of the chamber, and the latter was found a little to the east of skull no. VI. Three of the other alabastra (8–10) probably belong to these interments, and from the same level came the bronze tweezers (26), the fragment of a dagger hilt (27), the faience dagger pommel (31), and the amber beads (35). Another alabastron (7) lay with the fine bronze knife (25) on the bench right in the north-west corner. These two latter should belong to one of the earlier interments, and perhaps at burial were placed on the bench, later were thrust into the corner, got covered with earth, and overlooked. They may, however, have belonged to skeleton no. VIII, an adult male who lay on the bench with his head to the south, but as this was at the same level as no. VII, that of another adult male which had later vases (14, 18) with it, we should hardly expect an alabastron of an earlier type like 7 to be associated with it. These two skeletons, nos. VII and VIII, which were about 0·40 m. above the floor, are the first of what we may call the second series of interments. To the same group belongs no. IX, which lay in a much disturbed condition, just to the south-east of the bench, and slightly above its level. With it was one steatite whorl (40*b*). No vases can be assigned to it, even conjecturally, for as it lay higher than skeleton no. VII, we could hardly assign to it the vases 6 and 9 which were found against the south wall near, but below the level of its skull. Both these two vases are earlier in date than the two found with skeleton no. VII, which lay a little lower down, so that they are more likely to have belonged to skulls nos. V and VI, which had been pushed aside against the wall here. Not far off against the south wall was found the ivory handle or leg (34) just below the level of the bench. It therefore probably belonged to the earlier burials. The second series of burials includes no. X, which lay in the eastern part of the tomb some 0·70 m. above the floor. It had no offerings round it, but was remarkable in that the knees had been bent upwards much more than usual, so that when found the skeleton seemed at first to have been laid in the tomb with the legs crossed tailorwise. This, like three of the earlier skeletons, nos. II, VII, and VIII, had been laid in the usual reclining position, and each had one hand laid in the lap. Next in order came nos. XI and XII, both about 0·72 m. above the floor, and also laid in the same position. Skeleton no. XI lay on top of no. VIII on the bench, and had disturbed it slightly, and to it belonged a steatite spindle whorl (40*c*), and three vases (13, 16, and 17), and to no. XII, which lay by the side of it to the east at the same level, belonged vases 15 and 20. The association of a tall alabastron (13) with a stirrup-vase like 16 is important, as dating this tall type of alabastron

definitely to L.H. III, and as proving what had long been suspected that it was later than the flat wide type like 7. Observation of the alabastra from this tomb now shows us that the flat wide type with wheel patterns on the bases, and of a height equal to half their diameter, are earlier than the tall type with concentric circles on the bases, and of a height equal to about three-quarters of their diameter. From this evidence skeleton no. VII which possessed one of these later alabastra (14) can only be slightly earlier than nos. IX–XII. Above the level of nos. XI and XII, and about 0·97 m. above the floor, the remains of two more skeletons, nos. XIII, an adult male, and XIV, an adult male but not a young man, were found against the east wall of the tomb, having been brushed aside in confusion and lying on the top of a stratum of soft rock fallen from the roof, which had covered skeletons nos. VII and X below. To them perhaps belonged the jug (19) found at this level in the north-east corner with the three sea-shells (41). The latter are a puzzle, especially the one filled with lead. Necklaces of sea-shells are known, but for this purpose they would not be filled with lead. The next skeleton, no. XV, that of a young adult male, and in a much decayed condition perhaps caused by disturbance, lay some 1·02 m. above the floor against the south wall. At about the same level, 1·05 m. above the floor, another, no. XVI, was found just within the door to the west. This lay in the usual reclining attitude, and one hand seemed to have lain in the lap. At a still higher level, skeleton no. XVII, for which no skull could be found, lay in the same position in the south-east part of the tomb about 1·15 m. above the floor. Corresponding to it, in the south-west part, lay no. XVIII about 1·23 m. above the floor. Neither of these had any vases or other offerings with them, except the three fragmentary charcoal scoops, nos. 22–4.

From this survey of the finds in the chamber, we can divide the interments into three series. To the first series belong skeletons nos. I–VI, with all the earlier pottery (1–12, 21) which was actually found at or near this level, and most of the small objects except the sea-shells (41) and the steatite whorls (40). No steatite whorls occurred with the earlier burials. As seen above, they appear with skeletons accompanied by L.H. III vases. This confirms the evidence of Tomb 517 that in L.H. I–II terra-cotta whorls were used, while steatite whorls were introduced in L.H. III.[1] To the second series belong skeletons nos. VII–XII, and the few vases (13–18, 20) buried with them. To the third and latest series belong the remaining skeletons nos. XIII–XVIII, which had no offerings with them except perhaps the jug (19) and the scoops (22–4). We may, perhaps, assume that these three series of burials correspond with the three stages of the walling of the door. The first series with which many funeral offerings had been laid seem to have been much more disturbed, and would belong

[1] See above, p. 69, and below, p. 218 f.

to L.H. I–II. The second series seem to have been much less disturbed, but to have had very little buried with them. They belong to the beginning of L.H. III. The third series seem hardly to have been disturbed at all, but to have had next to nothing placed with them in the tomb. They belong to the latter part of L.H. III. The stratification of this tomb is thus extremely interesting, and throws some fresh light on the evolution of Late Helladic pottery, and once again shows the continuity of civilization at Mycenae during this period. We find again here a Mycenaean family[1] continuing to use the same sepulchre from L.H. I to the latter part of L.H. III. No better demonstration of the continuous character of the culture and population of Mycenae in the Late Helladic period could be given.

Finds

From the Chamber.

A. *Pottery.*

1. Cup, tea-cup shape, pl. I: h. 0·125 m., d. 0·06 m.; the handle is metallic in shape; on the body is a pattern of spirals with solid centres and joined by curved tangents, with loops above and below them; white dots are added to the tangents and to the centres of the spirals. L.H. I.

2. Three-handled amphora,[2] pl. IV: h. 0·185 m., d. 0·11 m.; metallic rim and base; solid colour on neck and round base, row of dots on rim, between each two handles a palm, with curling leaves and drooping fronds, set obliquely with a wavy stem running under the handle to the left, quirk-like lines and smaller palms fill the interspaces; good fabric. L.H. II.

3. Three-handled amphora, pl. LI: h. 0·135 m., d. 0·08 m.; metallic rim, decorated with wavy line; solid colour on neck and base, row of dots on shoulder, body covered with network pattern; poorish fabric. L.H. II.

4. Askos, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·105 m., d. 0·14 m.; small tubular spout with loop handle to one side, round body; lines on lower part of body, on upper part three argonauts with a continuous wave pattern above and below, on centre of top a cross and concentric semicircle design. L.H. II.

5. Shallow saucer, pl. II: h. 0·055 m., d. 0·125 m.; on lip a round, metallic loop handle; unpainted inside, outside a design of alternate ivy leaves and buds on curved stems arising from a continuous wave pattern. L.H. II.

6. Shallow saucer: h. 0·03 m., d. 0·11 m.; handle missing; unpainted inside, simple lines only outside. L.H. II.

7. Alabastron, pl. V: h. 0·085 m., d. 0·18 m.; wheel pattern on base, row of dots below neck, on body a design of alternate ivy leaves and buds on curved stems rising up between the handles from a continuous wave pattern; good fabric. L.H. II.

8. Alabastron, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·08 m., d. 0·155 m.; wheel pattern on base, row of dots

[1] See below, pp. 137 ff., 231.

[2] Similar vase from Eleusis, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, pl. 11, (= Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 129, fig. 108).

round neck and along edge of continuous wave pattern on lower part of body, between each two handles an outlined ivy leaf with curled lobes and row of dots. L.H. II.

9. Alabastron, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·175 m.; on base large spiral in centre surrounded by curved spokes; on body between each two handles a conventionalized palm with a wavy stem running below the handle to the left; poor style. L.H. II late.

10. Alabastron, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·115 m.; wheel pattern on base, design on body similar to that of no. 9, but continuous wave below; poor fabric. L.H. II late.

11. Alabastron: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·105 m.; wheel pattern on base, but with a solid hub and three concentric rings instead of two; design on body similar to that of no. 9; poor fabric. L.H. II late.

12. Alabastron, pl. XLVIII: h. 0·13 m., d. 0·295 m.; wheel pattern on base; round lower part of body continuous wave pattern with high crests rising between the handles, edged with row of dots; row of dots below neck; good fabric. L.H. II.

13. Alabastron, pl. LI: h. 0·085 m., d. 0·12 m.; concentric circles on base; continuous wave pattern round body, pile of six short dashes between each two handles. L.H. III.

14. Alabastron, pl. LI: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·095 m.; designs on the base and body similar to those of no. 13, but no dashes between handles. L.H. III.

15. Stirrup-vase, pl. LI: h. 0·115 m.; globular shape, Tell-el-Amarna style; thick and thin lines on body, on shoulder chevrons; good fabric. L.H. III.

16. Stirrup-vase, pl. LI: h. 0·07 m.; clumsy globular shape, simple lines on body, miscellaneous wavy lines on shoulder; poor style. L.H. III.

17. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. LI: h. 0·095 m.; thick and thin lines on body and neck; good fabric. L.H. III.

18. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. LI: h. 0·22 m.; unpainted, greenish-yellow ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

19. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. LI: h. 0·135 m.; simple bands on neck and body, paint almost vanished. L.H. III.

20. Two-handled amphora, pl. LI: h. 0·175 m.; unpainted, pale buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

21. Three-handled amphora, pl. L: h. 0·515 m.; two handles and part of one side missing; metallic rim, handles, and neck at base of which is a plastic ring; coral pattern on lip in reserved technique, leaf pattern below neck; below each handle is the head and body of a large octopus whose tentacles curl away to either side, sea anemones among the tentacles; good style and fabric. Two or three pieces found in dromos. L.H. II.

22, 23, 24. Ladles or scoops, very fragmentary, three: d. of one 0·10 m.; they had solid tubular handles ending in blunt points and a short spout on the rim opposite the handle; coarse, brick-red clay. Compare Tomb 515, nos. 12, 13, pl. XVII. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

25. Bronze knife, pl. VII: l. 0·27 m., present length of handle (lower end chipped) 0·07 m.; one edge; ivory handle held in place by three studs; where the back of the blade is free of incrustation can be seen an incised spiral pattern above which is one incised line.

For the shape compare a knife with an ivory handle from Tomb 82 at Mycenae[1] and another from Tomb 78 at Mycenae[2] which has only part of the handle preserved.

26. Bronze tweezers, broken, pl. VII : l. 0·056 m. ; with gradually widening blades,[3] compare no. 28.

27. Bronze dagger, fragment, pl. VII : w. 0·03 m. ; lower part of hilt with three studs, which once helped to hold the handle in place.

28. Bronze tweezers, pl. VII : l. 0·088 m. ; simple form bent at the top, but with

Fig. 42. Tomb 529, Ivory Comb, no. 33 (Scale 9 : 10). L.H.I–II.

Fig. 43. Tomb 529, Ivory Handle or Leg, no. 34 (Scale 9 : 10). L.H. I–II.

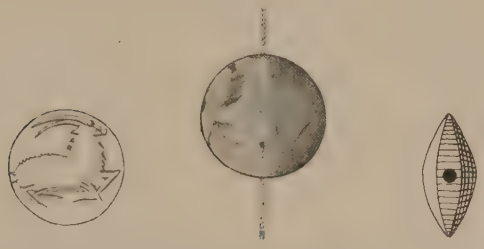

Fig. 44. Tomb 529, Carnelian Sealstone, no. 37 (Scale 1 : 1). L.H. II.

abruptly widening blades, compare no. 26, Tomb 515, no. 62 ; contrast the type in which the top is bent into a spring, examples from Mycenae (Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 2543, 2564).

29. Bronze scale pans, two : d. about 0·045 m. ; small holes on opposite sides for attachment of chain ; compare Tomb 515, no. 20, pl. XXIX.

30. Bronze plate, fragments, found with vases nos. 9, 10, 11.

31. Faience pommel, pl. LI : d. 0·043 m. ; hole in the centre for attachment to tang, and four sinkings on top for inlaying ornament. Compare the similar faience pommel from Tomb 102, Mycenae.[4] L.H. II.

32. Ivory rod, four fragments : largest piece l. 0·15 m. ; d. 0·009 m.

33. Ivory comb, teeth broken, incomplete, fig. 42 : l. 0·07 m , w. 0·025 m. ; cut straight at the top ; in upper edge is a socket probably for the insertion of another piece of ivory to hold two sections of the comb together ; undecorated. L.H. I–II.

34. Ivory handle or leg, fig. 43 : 0·062 m. by 0·025 m. by 0·012 m. ; horn-shaped ; pierced tenon for attachment ; possibly from a casket on three or four legs. L.H. I–II.

35. Amber beads, thirty whole and about ten fragmentary, mostly discoid : d. 0·013 m. to 0·025 m. L.H. I–II.

[1] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3129. [2] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3083. [3] See below, p. 191.
[4] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 4908 ; *J. H. S.*, 1904, p. 324 ; see below, p. 220.

36. Carnelian beads, pl. VIII: *a*, oval, nine, l. 0·02 m.; *b*, pear-shaped, five, l. 0·03 m. Similar beads from the Third Shaft Grave at Mycenae.[1]

37. Sealstone, carnelian, lentoid, fig. 44: d. 0·018 m.; intaglio design shows wild goat to left lying down, sketchy execution; similar to Tomb 515, no. 36, pl. XXVIII, in work and design. L.H. II.

38. Beads of glass, mostly spherical, five whole, two broken: d. 0·015 m.; greenish-grey in colour.

39. Faience lid, pl. LI: d. 0·17 m.; h. 0·055 m.; round flat knob on top; greenish-white material; apparently not Egyptian. Mostly in chamber; some pieces found in dromos.

40. Spindle whorls, dark steatite: *a*, *b*, *c*, conical, h. 0·014 m.–0·018 m., *d*, button or shanked type, h. 0·01 m. The first three were found with skeletons nos. VII, IX, and XI respectively, the fourth, *d*, was found 0·79 m. above the floor in the middle of the chamber.

41. Sea-shells, the *conus* shell, three; l. 0·04 m.; one is filled with lead. Similar shells have been found at Mycenae and Nauplia.[2]

Tomb 530 (fig. 45).

The entrance faces north, and is approached by a wide dromos which is rather short in proportion to its width, and, though wedge-shaped in section, has arched or curved and not straight sides. It is 8·15 m. long, 1·60 m. wide at the entrance, and increases to about 2·00 m. in front of the door. The doorway is about 0·90 m. wide, and of about the same depth. It is rectangular, and was originally about 1·50 m. high, with a shallow fascia some 0·10 m. wide cut in the rock round it. Now the top has fallen away, and it is nearly 2·00 m. high. It was walled up with packed stones for a height of 1·10 m., and within the door just inside the chamber lay an irregular mass of stones, lying as though they had fallen inwards from the upper part of the door filling. The chamber is roughly square, and measures about 2·80 m. each way, and is at present about 3·80 m. high, but this great height has been produced by the fall of a large mass of soft rock from the roof especially on the west side. Probably the chamber was originally about 2·30 m. high.

In the dromos were found several fragments of L.H. I–II pottery, a tea-cup (1), a cup of Vaphio shape (2) (pl. LII), parts of the base of an alabastron (4), and two pieces of a lamp (5) like Tomb 518, nos. 46, 47, pl. XLIII. There were also several fragments of the alabastron (3) (pl. VI), the base of which was found in a shallow pit some 0·18 m. deep and 0·70 m. long by 0·42 m. wide, which lay 0·88 m. from the door in the middle of the dromos. Here, besides the base of

[1] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 58, no. 114, pl. XXV.

[2] Mycenae, Tomb I, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 136 (Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2358); Nauplia, Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 3433, 3552; see below, p. 224.

the alabastron, were found two skeletons, nos. I and II, packed tightly together. These are clearly the remains of two early interments which had been removed from the chamber to make room for other burials. They may be dated in

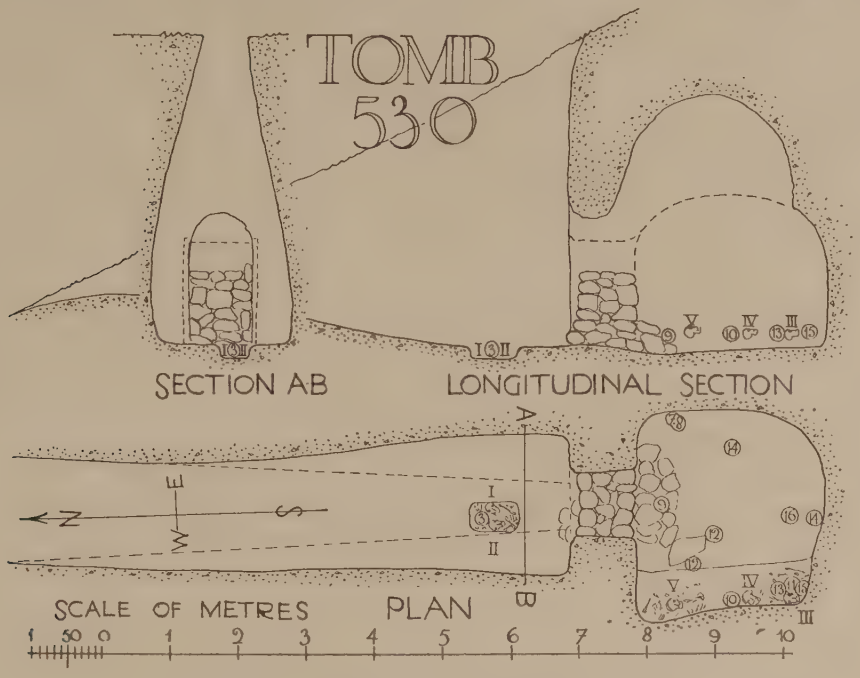

Fig. 45. Tomb 530, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

L.H. II on the evidence of the alabastron (3), part of which was found with them. The other fragments of L.H. I–II pottery found in the dromos may also be considered as having belonged to these or other early interments, which were removed to make place for fresh tenants. From this we can conclude that the tomb was made at the end of L.H. I or at the beginning of L.H. II. In plan and form it corresponds closely with Tomb 529, which would have been made in L.H. I. This also has a short and wide dromos with arched sides, and the doorway is as wide as it is deep. These are, as we have seen in the case of Tomb 515, the characteristics of an L.H. I–II chamber tomb in contrast to an L.H. III tomb, which has a long narrow dromos with straight sides, wedge-shaped in section, and a deep doorway.[1] Other sherds from the dromos include one patterned piece of E.H. ware, two pieces of M.H. Matt-painted Group B. 1, three possible L.H. II sherds, and a certain amount of much broken and unimportant L.H. III pottery, among which only the small unpainted kylix (6) deserves mention.

[1] See below, p. 124.

Within the chamber no skeleton was found lying in its original position, and many of the vases, though all their fragments were found, were broken. The tomb appears to have been partially cleared in preparation for fresh interments. Among the stones lying on the floor just within the blocking wall of the doorway lay the fragments of the large stirrup-vase (9). In the north-east angle lay the two alabastra (7 and 8), while the base of the kylix (14) lay somewhat farther south, though its body lay right against the south wall. Near it was the silver ring (16) and the lead wire (21). In the south-west angle lay a skull, no. III, surrounded by decayed bones,[1] and three vases (11, 13, and 15), which probably went with that interment. In the middle of the west side was another skull, no. IV, and by it a stirrup-vase (10). Finally in the north-west corner was the skull no. V, with the leg bones quite close to it, and the rest of the skeleton scattered round. To its east lay the fragments of a spouted bowl (12), which may have belonged to this interment, by a large stone which possibly had also been part of the blocking wall of the door. The three skulls with the bones and vases that accompanied them rested on a sort of bank of loose earth or powdered rock some 0·20–0·25 m. thick and about 0·70 m. wide. It contained no remains of any kind, and had the appearance of a small bank of loose earth swept up off the floor of the tomb against the west wall. This tomb, like 519, seems to have been prepared for some later interment by sweeping three interments against the west wall, but no use seems to have been made of it after the clearing.

As already stated, the tomb seems to have been made in L.H. I–II, and then, after only two interments had taken place in it, to have been cleared out completely at the beginning of L.H. III, when three other burials were made. Some time later these three burials were pushed aside to make room for others, which never materialized. We have here again a case of a tomb being constructed in L.H. I–II, and remaining in use till L.H. III, thus showing, if these really were family sepulchres as we suppose, that there was no break in civilization or population at Mycenae between L.H. II and L.H. III.

Finds

I. *From the Dromos.*

Pottery.

1. Cup, tea-cup shape, fragment only, with spiral pattern picked out with added white dots like Tomb 517, no. 11, Tomb 518, no. 37, Tomb 529, no. 1, pls. XXXIV, XLI, 1. L.H. I–II.

2. Cup of Vaphio shape, lower part only, pl. LII : h. 0·06 m.; plastic band round middle; decorated with ripple pattern. L.H. I–II.

[1] Among these was an arm bone which had been broken, and had mended naturally.

3. Alabastron, several fragments, pl. VI:[1] d. of base approximately 0·20 m. (most of base was found in pit with the skeletons nos. I and II); wheel pattern on base, rosettes between each two handles with long-stemmed palm motives twining round them, continuous wave pattern below. L.H. II.

4. Alabastron, part of base only with wheel pattern. Possible fragments of two more. L.H. II.

5. Lamp, two fragments of an unpainted example like Tomb 518, nos. 46 and 47, pl. XLIII; it was apparently the same size as those two specimens. L.H. II.

6. Kylix, pl. LII: h. 0·115 m.; unpainted; one loop handle. L.H. III.

II. *From the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

7. Alabastron, pl. LIII: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·165 m.; handles small and atrophied; concentric circles on base, round lower part of body continuous wave pattern, between crests of waves large dots surrounded by a series of smaller ones. L.H. III.

8. Alabastron, pl. LIII: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·18 m.; handles small and atrophied; concentric circles on base, continuous wave pattern round lower part of body. L.H. III.

9. Stirrup-vase, pl. LII: h. 0·19 m.; tall and globular, Tell-el-Amarna style; belts of alternating thick and thin lines round body, round centre of body a frieze of large and small hatched crescents, on shoulder conventionalized papyrus flowers; good fabric. L.H. III.

10. Stirrup-vase, pl. LII: h. 0·125 m.; globular shape, Tell-el-Amarna style; belts of thick and thin lines on body, on shoulder chevrons; good fabric. L.H. III.

11. Stirrup-vase, pl. LII: h. 0·11 m.; squat globular shape, post-Tell-el-Amarna in style; belts of thick and thin lines on body, chevron-like lines on shoulder; poor fabric. L.H. III.

12. Shallow spouted bowl, pl. LII: h. 0·105 m., d. 0·135 m.; one high swung handle standing well above rim; thick and thin lines round body in red on a pink biscuit, below rim inverted continuous wave pattern, on base inside concentric circles; good fabric. L.H. III.

13. Three-handled amphora, pl. LII: h. 0·15 m.; unpainted, yellow buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

14. Kylix, pl. LII: h. 0·24 m.; one high swung handle standing well above the rim; unpainted, pale buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

15. Kylix, pl. LII: h. 0·095 m.; short stem, one loop handle from rim to shoulder; unpainted, pale buff ware, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

16. Silver ring: d. 0·02 m.; plain; very badly oxidized.

17. Bronze rod, broken: l. 0·072 m.; thin.

18. Ivory disc, broken: d. 0·018 m.; carved with rosette pattern.

19. Bead of glass, pear-shaped, top broken: l. 0·011 m.; greenish-white.

[1] The restoration given is of course partly conjectural. For the design compare the alabastron from Sakkara, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 498, fig. 304*f*.

20. Spindle whorls, steatite: conical, one, h. 0·011 m., yellow; shanked or button type, two, h. 0·016 m., 0·011 m., dark grey.

21. Lead wire, considerably decayed, several pieces.

For Tomb 531 see North Bank, pp. 43 ff.

Tomb 532 (fig. 46).

The entrance faces north. It was approached by a short dromos 3·20 m. long, which was wider at its outer end, 1·40 m., than at the door of the chamber, 1·15 m. The door, which was of the same width, 1·15 m., as the dromos, was closed by a double stone wall, and was only about 0·90 m. deep. The vault and the walls of the tomb, as well as the door, had completely collapsed.

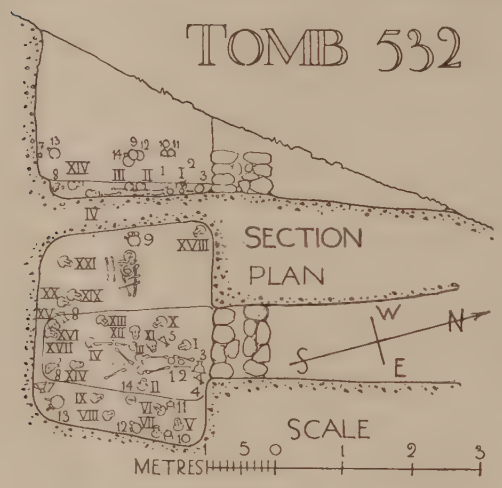

Fig. 46. Tomb 532, Plan and Section (Scale 1 : 100).

The chamber was roughly square, measuring about 2·50 m. by 3·30 m. The level of the floor of the chamber was 0·11 m. to 0·24 m. higher than that of the dromos. From the door to the back wall extended a large pit, whose bottom level was the same as that of the dromos. It was 2·50 m. long, 1·00 m. to 1·40 m. wide, and 0·12 m. to 0·30 m. deep.

The pit contained two layers of bones. Right at the bottom lay two leg bones just below the leg bones of the headless skeleton shown on the plan (fig. 46) near skulls nos. I, II, III. Some scattered arm bones and skull no. IV may have belonged to this, the first interment in the tomb. Close to the leg bones were a squat jug (1), and the rim and some other fragments of an alabastron (2), the base of which was found at a higher level close to skull no. XII with various fragments of bone. Just to the north of skull no. IV occurred two small fragments of a plain bone pin (21).

Above the bones and finds described lay the headless skeleton shown in the plan (fig. 46) and in the photograph (pl. LV), and around it the skulls nos. I, II, III. Skull no. XIV lying at the top level of the pit probably belonged to this skeleton. Around this interment were pots, fragments of pottery, and other finds, which obviously belonged to it or to the leg bones below it and skull no. IV. On the rock, clay spindle whorls (20) were found in different parts of the pit. Also on the rock, at the foot of the skeleton, lay the goblet (3) and the goblet foot (4) (pl. LV). To the west of the skeleton were various bones in disorder, and among them the

bottom of the alabastron (2) mentioned above, a goblet foot (5), the fragments of the deep cup (6), and a big fragment of the L.H. II cup (7). The base of this (7) was found 0·34 m. above the floor level of the chamber against the south wall, and other fragments at various levels above the south end of the pit. In the south-east corner of the pit and 0·08 m. below the floor level of the chamber was the spout and one big sherd of the hole-mouthed jar (8). The other fragments were found at different levels above the south end of the pit from about 0·40 m. above the floor level of the chamber and downwards to the rock. The foot of the jar was 0·29 m. above the floor-level in the south-west part of the pit. Close to skull no. II were two fragments of a bronze rod square in section (22).

Above the pit the stratification was as follows. All over the chamber was a layer of whitish earth and stones which from 0·72 m. above the rock floor of the chamber contained bones and Late Helladic sherds. Below, 0·40 m. above the floor, the earth was darker and contained fewer stones. At different levels from 0·50 m. above the floor level down to the actual floor were the skulls nos. V–XX. It was obvious that the whole layer was thoroughly disturbed. Only one skeleton was in a traceable position, a burial in the contracted attitude on the floor to the west. The head was missing and no grave-offerings were found in connexion with it. Except for the fragments of two vases (7 and 8), everything in the stratum above the pit characterized it as a normal L.H. III layer. A stirrup-vase of the usual globular type (9) lay 0·40 m. above the floor by the western wall. Two conical steatite spindle whorls (23) of the common type were found at roughly the same level in the eastern part, where there also lay two three-legged incense burners with their lids (10 and 11), a one-handled shallow saucer of red ware (16), and a squat jug (12), all about 0·40 m. above the floor. In the south-east corner stood the feeding bottle (13), its top being 0·40 m. above the floor of the chamber. Other finds to be noted are a button-shaped steatite spindle whorl (24), close by skull no. XVIII at 0·40 m. above the floor, a stirrup-vase (14) 0·29 m. above the floor, and a small painted cup (15), the sherds of which were in the north-east corner. It is to be observed that the whole layer just above the floor level was poor in finds.

The stratification of this tomb seems fairly clear. It was used from L.H. II to L.H. III times. The two skeletons found in the pit were apparently the first interments in the tomb. It is uncertain which of the skulls nos. I, II, III, IV, XIV belonged to them. The vases (1, 2, and 3) and the terra-cotta spindle whorls (20) probably go with them. The vases (7, 8, and perhaps 6), which were found scattered above the southern end of the pit, also seem to belong to it, and would have been broken and their fragments scattered about when the pit was searched for valuables on the occasion of the tomb being opened for a later interment. The bones in the southern end were disturbed by a later entering of the tomb.

The vases (1–3 and 6–8) form an interesting group of L.H. II pottery. In L.H.III times many interments were made above the pit and to them belong skulls nos. v–xiii, and xv–xx. With them can be associated the vases (9–15) which were broken. Unlike 6, 7, and 8, however, their fragments were together and not scattered about. No metal objects of any value occurred.

This tomb like Tombs 514 and 533 is an instance where secondary interments did not disturb the actual bones of the first burials, though there were no roof slabs over the pit as in Tomb 514.

Finds

From the Pit and the Chamber.[1]

A. *Pottery.*

1. Squat jug, pl. liii: h. 0·054 m.; one vertical loop handle on shoulder and body; solid colour on neck and two broad bands round the lower part of the body, round the shoulder and upper body is a sketchy frieze showing a procession of quadrupeds (cats?) prancing along one behind the other. L.H. II.

2. Alabastron, part missing, pl. liv: h. 0·061 m., d. 0·096 m.; on base concentric circles, between each two handles a lily with a waving stem running under the handle to the right, below a plain band. L.H. II.

3. Goblet, handle partly missing, pl. liii: h. 0·10 m., d. 0·135 m.; short stem, splaying, flat rim with a metallic profile; the outside is unpainted, the interior is covered with black glaze paint; compare the two similar goblets from the pit in Tomb 517, nos. 16, 17, pl. xxxiv; Yellow Minyan ware. L.H. II.

4. Goblet, foot and stem only, pl. lv: h. 0·035 m.; probably from a goblet like no. 3; unpainted. L.H. II.

5. Goblet, foot and stem only, pl. lv: h. 0·03 m.; unpainted. L.H. II.

6. Deep cup, pl. liii: h. 0·089 m., d. 0·121 m.; one vertical ribbon loop handle metallic in shape, the rim has a metallic profile, ring base; rim painted black inside, on the outside plain bands on body. L.H. II.

7. Cup of Vaphio shape, pl. liv: h. 0·096 m., d. 0·132 m.; metallic handle, slight plastic ring round centre of body; on upper part of body a horizontal, conventionalized foliate spray, and on the lower part plain bands, on base a spiral. L.H. II.

8. Hole-mouthed jar, pl. vi: l. of spout 0·075 m., h. 0·169 m., d. 0·098 m.; one horizontal loop handle on either side rising above the rim, which has a plastic ring, a small vertical loop handle below the rim at the back opposite the spout; elaborate pattern showing outlined ivy leaves with curled lobes set in a network of fan-shaped meshes partly outlined with rows of dots, small circles appear in the intervals, solid colour on foot. L.H. II. This contrasted with the similar jar Tomb 518, no. 4 (pl. xxxix), shows the development of the shape from L.H. I to late L.H. II, as can be observed also in the three-handled amphorae by contrasting Tomb 515, no. 1 with Tomb 525, no. 7 (pls. xxviii, xlv), and Tomb 518, no. 15 with Tomb 520, no. 16 (pls. v, xvii).

[1] Since, as explained above, it is very difficult to decide definitely which objects belonged to the pit and which to the chamber, no attempt has been made to distinguish them in the following list.

The lower part of the vase is more slender and swells out rapidly upwards into a broad body, whereas in the earlier forms the curves are fuller and gentler.

9. Stirrup-vase, pl. LIII: h. 0·136 m.; on body broad and narrow bands, on shoulder narrow zigzag line, above which are conventionalized flowers; post-Tell-el-Amarna in style. L.H. III.

10. Incense burner, with lid and three legs, pl. LIV: h. 0·091 m., d. 0·073 m.; small vertical loop handle just below rim, lid and body perforated with small holes, lid has a loop handle on top; the low base of the censer itself is retained, though useless, since the pot has legs. Two similar censers were found in Tomb 502, nos. 18 (fig. 3), 19. L.H. III.

11. Incense burner, with lid and three legs, pl. LIV: h. 0·102 m., d. 0·08 m.; similar to no. 10. L.H. III.

12. Squat jug, pl. LIV: h. 0·061 m.; one vertical loop handle on body; it shows the usual L.H. III system of bands round the lower part of the body, and a wavy line round the shoulder, compare Tomb 524, no. 5 (pl. XXII). L.H. III.

13. Feeding bottle, pl. LIV: h. 0·235 m.; basket handle spans lip, tubular spout projects from body on one side; covered all over with brown-black glaze paint. L.H. II.

14. Jug with stirrup handle, spout broken, pl. LIII: h. 0·432 m.; it has four groups of chevrons on the shoulder at the roots of the handle, horizontal bands round body. L.H. III.

15. Cup, bell-shaped, fragment: h. 0·055 m.; similar to Tomb 524, no. 8, pl. XXII; it has a decoration of pothooks. L.H. III.

16. Shallow saucer, pl. LIV: h. 0·07 m., d. 0·115 m.; metallic shape with high vertical loop handle set on rim; covered with red-brown glaze paint. L.H. II.

17. Kylix, fragment; usual L.H. III type, like Tomb 520, no. 28 (pl. XVI). L.H. III.

18. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, fragments only; similar to Tomb 533, no. 16 (pl. LVII); unpainted. L.H. III.

19. Jug with horizontal lip, fragments only; probably similar to no. 18. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

20. Spindle whorls, terra-cotta, *a*, shaped like two cones base to base, two, h. 0·027 m. and 0·024 m., d. 0·037 m. and 0·038 m.; *b*, conical, one, h. 0·02 m., d. 0·025 m.

21. Bone pin, fragments only, not measured.

22. Bronze rod, fragments only, square in section, not measured.

23. Spindle whorls, steatite, conical, two: h. about 0·011 m.

24. Spindle whorl, steatite, button or shanked type, one; h. about 0·01 m.

Tomb 533 (fig. 47).

The entrance faces north and is approached by a well-cut dromos which broadens out from top to bottom and slopes gently downwards to the door of the chamber. It is 10·35 m. long, and 1·30 m. wide at the beginning and 1·70 m. wide at the doorway. The doorway, which is about 1·00 m. wide, is shallow,

being not more than 0·75 m. deep. It was closed by a double stone wall built of smallish stones except at its top in front, where the final blocking was effected by two or three large stones.

About 2·00 m. from the entrance or north end of the dromos was a pit

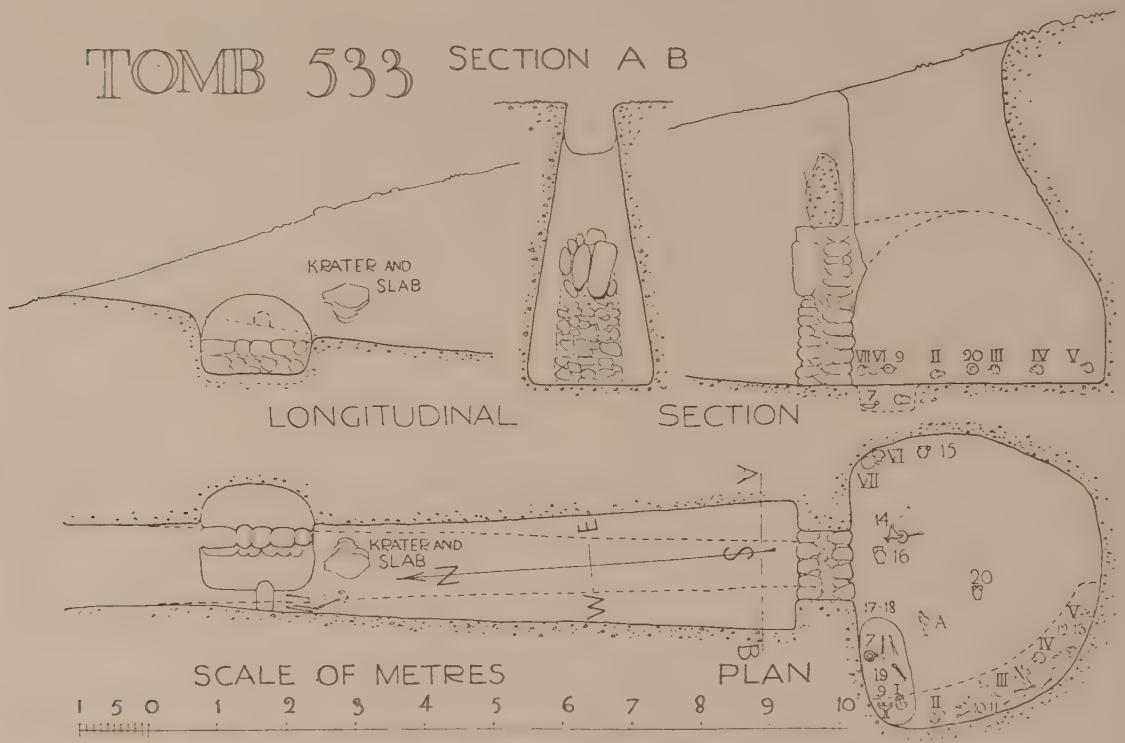

Fig. 47. Tomb 533, Plan and Sections (Scale 1 : 100).

cave almost of the same type as the pit caves known at Knossos.[1] It was 1·50 m. wide, 1·70 m. long, and 1·10 m. high in all, and divided into two parts by a wall running north and south which was one stone thick, and about 0·50 m. to 0·60 m. high. The western part of the pit cave cut off by the wall thus lay under the floor of the dromos and was only about 0·50 m. to 0·85 m. deep according to the slope of the dromos floor. The eastern part is cut out of the dromos wall like a large niche and as stated was 1·10 m. high. No bones or offerings of any kind were found in either part of the pit cave.

Between the south-west corner of the pit cave and the west wall of the dromos a much-decayed and unenclosed skeleton without any offerings lay on the floor of the dromos. It was protected only by a stone slab to the north which reached from the west wall of the dromos to the edge of the pit cave (fig. 47).

[1] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 15 ff.

Almost immediately to the south of the pit cave and rather towards the east side of the dromos lay a large krater (H. 1) clearly of the period of Orientalizing pottery, covered with a stone slab. This contained the bones of a child, three small vases (H. 2–4), a long string of beads of glass (H. 5), and one bronze and two iron pins (H. 6). This burial, which was probably of the seventh century B.C., suggests that the other burial in the dromos near it was also of approximately the same date or at least of historic times. It is possible that when these two burials took place, the pit cave was discovered and emptied.

In the dromos we found a few Early Helladic sherds, some Middle Helladic Matt-painted ware, and a little Late Helladic I–II pottery. Among the latter were a few pieces from which we were able to restore two vases (1, 2), a cup, and a hole-mouthed jar. One of the pieces of the cup (1) was found in the earth dug out in clearing the collapsed chamber of Tomb 515, which, as the plan (fig. 9) shows, lies lower down the hill. Probably this vase and the next both originally belonged to the interment in the pit of Tomb 533. When the chamber was cleared to make room for a later burial, these two vases, already broken, were flung out into the dromos. Pieces of the cup then fell beyond the dromos, and were carried down the hill-side. There were also a good many fragments of fine painted L.H. III ware, including kylikes (3*a*) like those from the dromos of Tomb 505,[1] part of a big krater (4), pieces of mugs (5), and unpainted kylix (3*b*) stems.

The dromos is wide though long, and the sides are slightly arched like those of Tomb 530, and the doorway is very shallow. These are signs of an early tomb, and on the strength of the plan and shape, and of the L.H. II pottery in the dromos, to say nothing of the shallow saucer found in the pit (7), we may consider this tomb to have been made and first used in L.H. II times.[2]

The door enters the tomb nearer the north-east corner than the north-west corner. Among the lower courses of the walling of the doorway which was intact was the stem of an unpainted kylix (6), and a few sherds, some of which belonged to the unpainted jug (24).

At the very entrance to the chamber, just inside the door, we found a few unimportant sherds of M.H. and L.H. I pottery, and a good deal of unpainted and poorly painted L.H. III ware of the ordinary style and fabric.

The chamber was carefully cut out and a pit, 1.50 m. long, 0.65 m. wide, and on the average 0.38 m. deep, ran along the north wall from the western door jamb. This pit contained remains of one skeleton more or less *in situ*. The skull no. 1 lay at the western end of the pit. An arm bone, probably the right arm, ran towards the centre of the pit from its south wall, and suggested that the hand

[1] See p. 17, fig. 8, and pl. XVI *a–c*, *e*, *f*.

[2] See below, p. 124.

lay in the lap. In the eastern part the two intact thigh bones suggested that the knees had been bent up in the usual attitude.

Against the north wall of the pit, 0·30 m. below the floor of the chamber, was a shallow saucer (7) probably of L.H. II date. In the area round the arm bone by the south wall a bronze awl set in a bone handle (8*a*) lay on the rock, and to the east of it a broken obsidian arrow-head (8*b*). Other fragments of the bronze awl found above the east end of the pit and 0·20 m. above the floor level of the chamber suggest that some disturbance of the pit had taken place.

In the chamber the actual layer of bones and Late Helladic pottery began about 0·30 m. above the rock floor. Along the western wall was a heap of bones with the skulls nos. II–V at levels from 0·27 m. to 0·10 m. above the rock floor. In this pile, which projects over the pit and obviously contains the second group of interments of the tomb swept to the side, various vases of L.H. III fabric were found (10–13). In the north-west corner over the pit and just above the floor level were the fragments of a kylix (9). A shallow saucer (10) and a goblet (11) lay in the top layer of the heap of bones by the western wall. Round skull no. V were most of the fragments of a kylix with high swung handles (12), and a handleless cup (13) found intact. Three conical steatite spindle whorls (27) were also found in this heap of bones.

In the rest of the chamber there were only a few bones except south of the western jamb, where the skeleton of a dog (A) was scattered about,[1] and in the north-east corner, where at a level of about 0·25 m. above the floor there were two skulls, no. VII upside down, and no. VI turned towards the door. To skull no. VI seemed to belong two leg bones at the same level, 0·80 m. to the south-west. Their position and distance from skull no. VI suggested a skeleton in the reclining position turned towards the door. This may have been the last interment of the tomb. To it belonged certainly a kylix with high swung handles (14) found at the same level together with the leg bones, and perhaps a jug (15) found at the same level a little to the south of skull no. VI. It was shattered, but all the fragments were together.

In front of the door 0·30 m. above the floor were the fragments of a jug (16), perhaps also belonging to skeleton no. VI in the north-east corner. At the same level near the south-east corner of the pit the fragments of two large jugs were found, spread over an area of about one square metre (17 and 18). Above

[1] In the dromos of Tomb 505 was the skull of a dog (p. 14). The skeleton of a dog was found in Tomb 1 at Asine (Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1922–3, p. 35) and in the dromos of Tomb 6 at Thebes (Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 137), and dogs' skulls in the beehive tomb at Dendra (Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 18) and in Tomb IX in the Mavro Spelio cemetery at Knossos (*B.S.A.*, xxviii, p. 248). Tsountas found dog's teeth in the Vaphio tomb and made similar finds in chamber tombs at Mycenae (Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 152).

the east part of the pit 0·20 m. above the floor lay most of the fragments of a large painted jug (19). In the centre of the chamber on the rock floor lay a stirrup-vase (20). We found the fragments of two small alabastra (21, 22), of a kylix (23), and an unpainted jug (24) scattered all over the chamber. Some fragments of this latter jug (24) were found in the stone walling of the doorway. As this walling was intact this vase seems to belong to the period preceding the latest interment before the door was finally blocked up. The earth of the chamber when sifted also yielded five spindle whorls, three conical of steatite (28), one button-shaped of steatite (26), and one button-shaped of terra-cotta (25). Nothing but Late Helladic pottery was found in the chamber, and with the exceptions noted it was all L.H. III.

The stratification of the skeletons and the finds suggests that the tomb was first constructed and used at the end of L.H. I, or early in L.H. II, even though the proportions and shape of the dromos differ from those of other L.H. I or II Tombs 515, 517, 529, and 530.[1] To this stage belong the L.H. I and II fragments from the dromos and the burial in the pit, no. 1. In L.H. III the tomb was partially cleared, and some of the broken pottery, to judge by the fragment of 1 found at the bottom of the hill above Tomb 515, was thrown right out down the hill-side. The burial in the pit was disturbed but not removed. Later some of the first L.H. III burials, nos. II–IV, were pushed aside as shown also by the early L.H. III sherds (3, 5) from the dromos, and by the pieces of four vases (21–24) scattered all over the chamber. The fragment of the jug (24) found among the stones of the wall blocking the doorway proves that the dromos was dug out and the wall rebuilt at least once in L.H. III. The character of the later L.H. III pottery which, though poor in fabric, is not of the Granary Class, shows that the tomb ceased to be used before the end of that period. The walling of the doorway was intact, and the dromos must have been last refilled with earth in L.H. III because no pottery other than L.H. ware was found in it except in connexion with the two seventh-century burials at its entrance. Had the dromos been open when those burials took place the tomb could hardly have escaped violation.

Finds

Iron Age.

From the Dromos.

A. *Pottery.*

H. 1. Krater, pl. LVI: h. 0·40 m., d. of lip 0·36 m.; two triple handles, compare Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 12431; the foot is painted with three (or four) bands, the lower part of the body with rays above a plain line; plain lines in purple and white separate

[1] See below, p. 124.

this from the upper part, which is covered with a washy brown-black paint; the lip has purple lines along the edge and washy paint inside; one side of the vase is discoloured through over-firing; careless workmanship; probably seventh century, and of local manufacture.[1]

H. 2. Cup, pl. LVI: h. 0·042 m., d. 0·09 m.; 'Argive linear' style; four fine lines

Fig. 48. Tomb 533, Glass Beads, no. H. 5 (Scale 2:3).

Fig. 49. Tomb 533, Bronze Pin, no. H. 6 (Scale 2:3).

round the lip inside; the rest of the inside and the handle are covered with poor washy brown-black paint; the rest of the outside unpainted, except for a line round the base. A somewhat similar shape occurs in Laconian I and II pottery.[2] Found inside no. H. 1.

H. 3. Feeding cup, pl. LVI: h. 0·03 m., d. 0·06 m.; unpainted, coarse light-brown clay. Found inside no. H. 1.

H. 4. Handleless cup, pl. LVI: h. 0·05 m., d. 0·095 m.; coarse pink-brown clay, shape not unlike that of no. H. 2, except for a flat-edged rim and the absence of a handle; red paint inside and on edge of rim, and a line round the base. Found inside no. H. 1.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

H. 5. Beads of glass, round and flat like washers, fig. 48: *a*, bluish green, 1172, d. 0·005 m., *b*, grey, 248, d. 0·003 m. Found inside no. H. 1.

H. 6. Pins:[3] *a*, bronze, one, fig. 49: l. 0·11 m.; head has a plain disc with two knobs below it; *b*, iron, two; l. about 0·13 m. when complete; much rusted and broken, same type as *a*. Found inside no. H. 1.

Bronze Age.

I. *From the Dromos.*

Pottery.

1. Cup of Vaphio shape, restored from three fragments, pl. LVI: h. about 0·096 m., d. about 0·10 m.; metallic handle, plastic line round middle of body; round upper part of body frieze of buds, a cross between the palm and lily motives, with plain bands above and below. L.H. II.

2. Hole-mouthed jar, restored from several fragments, pl. LVI: h. about 0·150 m., d. about 0·134 m.; one horizontal loop handle on either side, one of which with spout and third handle is restored; slightly raised metallic edge to lip below which is a line of dots; body is divided into a series of panels by vertical dotted lines, in each panel is

[1] Compare the sherds from Tomb 522, p. 33 f.

[2] For the type and its dating see Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, p. 200, pl. LXXXVI.

[3] See Dawkins, *op. cit.*, fig. 83, 1, p. 108.

a haftless double axe; between the blades above and below are pairs of wavy lines.[1] L.H. I–II.

3. Kylikes: *a*, painted, many fragments similar in style to those from Tomb 505,[2] and many pieces of other painted vases of like style and date; *b*, unpainted, one bowl, h. 0·09 m., one handle, and several stems of similar specimens. L.H. III.

4. Deep bowl or krater, one fragment; similar to an example from Korakou.[3] L.H. III.

5. Mugs, several fragments; similar in shape to those from below the Ramp House at Mycenae.[4] L.H. III.

II. *From the Doorway.*

Pottery.

6. Kylix, stem only: h. 0·05 m.; unpainted. L.H. III.

III. *From the Pit in the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

7. Shallow saucer, pl. II: h. 0·037 m., d. 0·131 m.; splayed metallic edge, loop ribbon handle set on rim with stud at its base against lip; round body outside pattern of ivy leaves, solid colour on base; blackish glaze paint on buff biscuit. L.H. I–II.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

8. *a*, Bronze awl with rounded handle of bone: handle l. 0·045 m., awl fragmentary, length unascertainable.

b, Obsidian arrow-head, broken: l. 0·026 m.; barbed, but tangless.

IV. *From the Chamber.*

A. *Pottery.*

9. Kylix: h. 0·18 m., d. 0·152 m.; two low vertical handles; unpainted. L.H. III.

10. Shallow saucer, pl. LVII: h. 0·035 m., d. 0·105 m.; metallic shape, like Tomb 532, no. 16, pl. LIV; covered with red glaze paint. L.H. III.

11. Goblet, pl. LVII: h. 0·146 m., d. 0·14 m.; two vertical ribbon handles from rim to body; covered with black glaze paint. L.H. II–III.

12. Kylix: h. 0·15 m., d. 0·155 m.; two high swung handles standing well above the rim; unpainted Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

13. Handleless cup, pl. LVII: h. 0·025 m., d. 0·083 m.; unpainted. L.H. III.

14. Kylix: h. 0·146 m., d. 0·14 m.; two high swung handles; reddish yellow biscuit, unpainted. L.H. III.

15. Jug with horizontal lip, pl. LVII: h. 0·168 m.; vertical handle from rim to shoulder; unpainted, Yellow Minyan. L.H. III.

16. Jug with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle, pl. LVII:

[1] Compare the hole-mouthed jar similar in shape and pattern of unknown provenance at Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 986, vase inventory.

[2] See p. 17, fig. 8, pl. XVI *a–c*, *e*, *f*.

[3] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 60, fig. 84.

[4] *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 80, pl. XIV *h*, *i*; for the shape see Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. xxi, no. 150; see above, p. 92, for similar fragment in Tomb 526.

h. 0·197 m.; slight ring at base of neck; paint has mostly vanished, plain belts round neck and body, on shoulder small circles in panels of vertical wavy lines bordered by two straight lines on each side; greenish-yellow clay, poor fabric. L.H. III.

17. Jug with beaked spout, pl. LV: h. 0·33 m.; plastic rings at foot of neck and round base; simple bands on body and neck, on shoulder conventional murex designs; greenish-yellow clay, poor fabric. L.H. III.

18. Jug with cutaway neck, pl. LV: h. 0·286 m.; plastic rings round lip, foot of neck, and base; simple bands on body and neck, on shoulder conventional floral designs; greenish-yellow clay, poor fabric. L.H. III.

19. Jug with cutaway neck, pl. LV: h. 0·35 m.; small base and with swelling body like Tomb 523, no. 2, and Tomb 525, no. 1, pls. XX, XLV; plastic rings at foot of neck and on lip; solid bands round base, narrow bands on neck, on body vertically curved groups of four narrow lines alternating with a broad line, grained pattern. L.H. III.

20. Stirrup-vase: h. 0·087 m.; globular shape; with horizontal lines round body and conventional flowers on shoulder, but post-Tell-el-Amarna in style. L.H. III.

21. Alabastron, pl. LVII: h. 0·06 m., d. 0·083 m.; careless decoration, concentric circles on base, continuous wave pattern around lower part, with groups of dots between the handles. L.H. III.

22. Alabastron, pl. LVII: h. 0·067 m., d. 0·10 m.; concentric circles on base, horizontal bands below continuous wave pattern on body, between handles two horizontal rows of five dots each. L.H. III.

23. Kylix: h. 0·125 m., d. 0·115 m.; with two low handles and high stem; greenish-yellow clay; unpainted. L.H. III.

24. Jug with horizontal lip: h. 0·171 m., d. 0·088 m.; one handle from rim to shoulder; unpainted. L.H. III.

B. *Miscellaneous Objects.*

25. Spindle whorl, terra-cotta, button or shanked type: h. 0·015 m., d. 0·03 m.

26. Spindle whorl, steatite, button-shaped: h. 0·019 m., d. 0·029 m.

27. Spindle whorls, steatite, conical, three: h. 0·01 m., d. 0·015 m.; purple.

28. Spindle whorls, steatite, conical, three: h. 0·01 m., d. 0·015 m.; purple. Found in sifting the earth from the Chamber.

PART III

COMMENTARY

A. The Tombs and the Methods of Burial

Tsountas,[1] as a result of his own excavations in the prehistoric cemeteries of Mycenae, came to the conclusion that the geographical distribution of the tombs in well-defined groups was not accidental, but designed. He found that the tombs were arranged in groups of eight, ten, or more lying close together in definite localities clearly separated from one another. This division of the cemeteries which lie near the Acropolis of Mycenae to the north, north-west, west, and south-west at the foot of the mountain of Hagios Elias, and in the sides of the various ridges that run south-westwards from it, he interpreted as meaning that the inhabitants of Mycenae lived in small villages or townships on these hills, and buried their dead in cemeteries hewn out of the sides of the ridges whereon they dwelt. The Acropolis was little more than a fortified palace protecting with its cyclopean walls the royal house, the great officers of state, chamberlains, captains of the guard, and the necessary servants or slaves, together of course with enough trusty guards to defend the walls in case of danger. The inhabitants of the separate villages were the ordinary civilian population, and Tsountas suggests that they lived in clans or groups of families, and that they continued in the tomb the clanship they had maintained in life. With the knowledge at present available these conclusions of Tsountas are eminently reasonable, and nothing found in the course of our excavations in the prehistoric tombs of Mycenae leads us to disagree with him on these points, for, as has been seen above and as will be explained below, the tombs we excavated have every appearance of being family sepulchres used by the same families over a considerable period of years.

The tombs we excavated lie in three definite divisions. The first is that which we have called the Third Kilometre Cemetery, and lies by the third kilometre stone on the modern high road just to the south of the Treasury of

[1] His main report is in *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1888, pp. 119 ff. and his later observations are recorded in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, pp. 1 ff., 1896, pp. 1 ff., 1902, pp. 1 ff., and in *Πρακτικά* of the corresponding years. His conclusions are summarized in Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, pp. 131 ff. Other valuable reports on chamber tombs elsewhere are given by Staes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1895, pp. 193 ff.; by Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, 1904, pp. 390 ff.; by Keramopoullos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, iii, pp. 80 ff., 123 ff.; by Kavvadias, *Προϊστορικὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*, pp. 355 ff.; by Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 73 ff.; *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1922-3, pp. 33 ff., 1924-5, pp. 40 ff.; by Renaudin, *B. C. H*, 1923, pp. 190 ff.; and by Maiuri, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi-vii, pp. 235 ff. Cretan chamber tombs are discussed by Evans in *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* and *The Tomb of the Double Axes*, by Forsdyke in *B. S. A.*, xxviii, pp. 245 ff., and by Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, pp. 505 ff.

Atreus. Our attention was called to this area by the fact that Tsountas had previously excavated three tombs here (fig. 1), a small one just to the south of Tomb 502, Tomb 102, and the Fig Tree Tomb respectively, just north and south of the third kilometre stone. Tomb 102 had proved rich and produced a considerable number of interesting finds mostly of the L.H. II period, some of which were discussed by Bosanquet.[1] Only one of the tombs, Tomb 504, is small and poorly constructed. The other five are cut with care and skill out of the conglomerate rock which is here fairly hard. One, Tomb 505, with its long dromos and large chamber is particularly impressive and well made. To judge by the plentiful fragments of good pottery in Tomb 505 and the alabaster and other valuable finds from Tomb 102, the township to which this group belonged must have been well-to-do. Tombs 102 and 505 were presumably those of influential families.

The other tombs we excavated, those of the Kalkani cemetery, fall, as stated above,[2] into two main divisions on the northern and southern banks of the ravine that runs westwards from the Epano Pegadi (fig. 9). The division on the north bank, which on Steffen's map [3] is called Phourno Diaselo, subdivides into further groups.

First comes one consisting of Tombs 521, 522, and 531, which lie close to the Epano Pegadi. One of these, Tomb 522, had been ruined completely. Tomb 531 seemed also to have been more than partially cleared, and only Tomb 521 still contained any appreciable proportion of its original contents. Every tomb, however, had a burial pit within the chamber, and all dated from the L.H. III period. The group was certainly larger, but without further exploration near Tomb 531 and without details about Tsountas's excavations in this neighbourhood [4] it is impossible to arrive at any certainty.

The next group consists of Tombs 520, 523, and 524, which lie farther to the north-west by the path leading towards the Cyclopean Tholos Tomb [5] which is not far beyond them. These tombs probably should be grouped with some of those found by Tsountas farther up the slope of the hill, and it is even possible that the Cyclopean Tholos Tomb should be included in this group. None of the tombs excavated by us, however, was earlier than the beginning of L.H. III, and two of them, Tombs 520 and 524, contained pits in the chamber. A third group on this northern bank may be recognized in the two tombs excavated by Tsountas at the bottom of the slope close to the bank of the ravine by the side of the ruined tomb called by Steffen [6] Busioti Spilia, but there is no information available about their contents.

[1] *J. H. S.*, 1904, pp. 322 ff.
[2] See p. 19.
[3] *Karten von Mykenai*, pl. 1.
[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 120, fig. 1, p. 122.
[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 287 ff.; fig. 49, p. 285.
[6] See frontispiece and Steffen, *op. cit.*, pl. 1.

The most important division consists of the fifteen tombs, Tombs 513 to 519, and 525 to 530, and 532, and 533, on the southern bank, on the hill called Kalkani (fig. 9). On the bare rocky top of this hill, which was once perhaps covered with soil, still stand the insignificant ruins of a tower probably medieval. Since, as mentioned above,[1] the soil filling the dromoi of the tombs often contained sherds of Early and Middle Helladic pottery, and similar sherds are to be picked up on the surface round the rocky knob, it is probable that the top of the Kalkani hill was the site of one of the villages where the civilian population dependent on the citadel of Mycenae dwelt from the beginning almost of the Bronze Age. Indeed the close proximity of a good water supply in the Epano Pegadi makes this rather steep hill, which is isolated from the ridges to the east and has a good outlook over the lower ground to the west and south, a suitable site for an early settlement. If the excavations at Mycenae had not been brought to a premature close we had hoped to explore the upper parts of the Kalkani hill methodically, in order to obtain further light on its early occupation and to discover if possible the burial places of its inhabitants in Early and Middle Helladic times. Some likely places had already been noted, and we know that there are chamber tombs still to be excavated on the slope of the hill which forms the south bank of the ravine.

Since the Kalkani hill had not been previously explored for tombs the excavation of the fifteen we found here provides a good homogeneous body of material for the study of the burial customs and the beliefs of the inhabitants, and also of their arts and environment during the Late Helladic Period. A glance at the plan (fig. 9) shows that the tombs excavated by us on this hill divide almost automatically into two groups. There is a group of seven rather small tombs to the east, only one of which, Tomb 517, appears to have been constructed as early as Late Helladic I, though it continued in use through L.H. III. The other six were made in L.H. III. The eight tombs of the western group are all comparatively large and important tombs, and of them only one, Tomb 513, seems to have been constructed as late as Late Helladic III. The other seven were made in L.H. I or L.H. II, though all seem to have continued in use in L.H. III. One need not necessarily assume from these facts that in Late Helladic III the families of this township became poorer, and so were not able to make such large tombs, although it is true that there are fewer offerings with the later burials. On the contrary a general increase in prosperity might have enabled more families to provide themselves with sepulchres. From the evidence of tombs like Tombs 515, 518, and 529, it

[1] See above, pp. 19, 76, 99, 107, 115.

would appear that in the L.H. I and II periods only the richer families could afford tombs of this type. The poorer quality of the L.H. III offerings in Tombs 515 and 529 might be held to suggest that some families declined in wealth and influence towards the end of the Bronze Age, although they continued to lay their dead in the family sepulchre. In any case all the tombs on this slope of the Kalkani hill (the southern bank of the ravine), though they subdivide automatically into two smaller groups, may be assumed from Tsountas's observations to have belonged to the clan or township situated on or near that very hill.

The tombs seem to have no particular rule for orientation, for their entrances or dromoi face according to the slope of the hill. Thus those on the Kalkani hill, which here slopes northwards, face northwards, and those across the ravine on its northern bank, which slopes southwards, face southwards or south-westwards. Similarly the tombs in the Third Kilometre Cemetery, since they lie on the eastern slope of the Makry Lithari ridge, face eastwards. Apparently the lie of the ground alone determined the orientation. In every case the dromoi are cut directly out of the soft rock of the hill-side, and are nowhere strengthened or lined with built walls of stones. Two types of dromos can be distinguished, and certain other features of the tombs show a corresponding differentiation agreeing generally as regards date with the two types of dromoi. The first and older type of dromos is that represented by Tombs 515, 529, and 530, where the dromoi are not very long, but rather wide. They narrow in width towards the tops of the sides which are not absolutely straight, but somewhat curved or arched (figs. 23, 41, 45).[1] The dromoi of the second type are long and narrow and the sides slope inwards sharply and straightly towards the top so that the dromoi in cross-section are practically wedge-shaped.[2] The same difference between the dromoi of L.H. I–II and L.H. III chamber tombs is also to be observed at Asine. There the dromos of Tomb 1,[3] which contained L.H. II vases, agrees with the older type at Mycenae. Of the older or L.H. I–II tombs, in Tomb 530 the proportion between the width and length of the dromos is as 1 to 4, in Tomb 529 it is as 1 to $3\frac{1}{2}$, in Tomb 515 it is as 1 to 3. On the other hand, of the later or L.H. III tombs, in Tomb 513 it is as 1 to 9, in Tomb 519 as 1 to 8, in Tomb 502 as 1 to 6, and in Tomb 505 as 1 to 16. A similar change in the proportions of the dromos can be observed also in the earlier and later Tholos Tombs. In the First Group of Tholos

[1] Tomb 533 (p. 114, fig. 47), a L.H. II tomb, is exceptional in having a long narrow dromos wedge-shaped in section.

[2] The best examples are Tombs 502, 519, and 525, pp. 4, 87, 90, figs. 2, 36, 37. See also p. 93.

[3] Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. des Lettres de Lund*, 1922–3, p. 34; Frödin-Persson, *ibid.*, 1924–5, p. 80, pl. XVIII.

Tombs, which date from the end of L.H. I and the beginning of L.H. II, the width of the dromos is to the length as 1 to 4. In the Third Group of Tholos Tombs, the Treasury of Atreus, the Tomb of Clytemnestra, and the Tomb of Genii, the proportion is as 1 to 6 or 7.[1] A somewhat similar change in plan can also be observed in the tombs of the Mavro Spelio cemetery at Knossos.[2] There the earlier tombs like nos. III, IV, V, VI, and IX are practically what are often termed 'rock shelters', that is to say, they are more or less natural hollows or caves under ledges of hard rock which have been artificially enlarged to serve as tombs. These appear to have been in use from M.M. times. Other tombs which have a regularly cut dromos and an artificially hewn chamber, such as tombs nos. XIII–XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXI, and XXII, do not seem to have been occupied before the L.M. period. It is possible that just as the chamber tombs in Crete seem to have developed from rock shelters, so the chamber tombs of the Mainland may equally well have developed from rock shelters of the type known in E.H. times, as at Zygouries.[3] Further, just as the royal Shaft Graves are elaborate versions of the simple Middle Helladic cist graves,[4] so the Tholos Tombs are elaborate or royal versions of the chamber tombs used for more ordinary folk.

Other features in the dromoi of these earlier tombs, though not constant, occur often enough to justify us in considering them as additional criteria for the early date of a tomb. Three of these early tombs, Tombs 515, 516, and 529, have two or three steps hewn roughly in the rock floor at the beginning of the dromos. They were perhaps to some extent a necessity. If the dromos had to be short and wide and the chamber of reasonable height, in digging the dromos as an open cutting more or less horizontally straight into the hill-side it was necessary to gain depth as quickly as possible, so as to secure sufficient height of rock to allow the chamber to be cut out with safety. Consequently, in order to avoid too steep a descent in the dromos, three or four steps were cut out at its beginning to gain greater depth more quickly.

In two of the early tombs, Tombs 515 and 529, the floor of the dromos just in front of the door of the chamber is cut out to a deeper level than the rest. No reason for this can be suggested except as a form of elaboration. In Tomb 515, also, the inner part of the dromos, where the floor is so cut out, is narrowed by a kind of jamb on each side a distance of 2·50 m. from the door of the chamber. From these jambs to the façade of the doorway the dromos again widens out, and this inner part of the dromos makes a kind of forehall[5]

[1] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 142 ff.

[2] *B.S.A.*, xxviii, pp. 245 ff.

[3] Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 43 ff.

[4] *Symbolae Osloenses*, ix, p. 31.

[5] Forehalls were apparently not found by Tsountas in any of the tombs he excavated at Mycenae, but they occur in Tomb 28 at Thebes (Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 124, fig. 89) and in Tombs XIX,

between the outer part of the dromos and the actual door of the tomb chamber. It is probably another form of elaboration, and as will have been observed above from the finds,[1] there is reason to believe that Tomb 515 was perhaps the richest in this cemetery.

The doorways of the earlier tombs have a feature which may also be taken as a criterion of date, in that none is very deep from front to back. Three of them, Tombs 516, 517, and 532, have their doorways of the same width as the dromos, whereas in the other five, Tombs 515, 518, 529, 530, and 533, the doorway is narrower in width than the dromos. Of the first three Tombs 516 and 517 both contained L.H. I pottery and rank among the earliest tombs, and of the latter five Tombs 518 and 529 also contained L.H. I pottery. As the lack of depth in a doorway is a fairly sure mark of early date, so it will be seen from the later tombs which contained no pottery older than L.H. III that deep doorways are generally a sign of late date. Of the late tombs, Tombs 502, 505, 513, 519, 520, 525, 526, and 531 have deep doorways, and Tombs 504, 523, 524, 527 have doorways of moderate depth, but are of small proportions. On the other hand the fact that the doorway is as wide as the dromos has no chronological value, for three of the late tombs, Tombs 514, 520, and 521, have doorways of the same width as their dromoi, a feature which, as noted, occurs also in two early tombs, Tombs 517 and 532. In Tomb 520 the doorway was deep, in Tomb 514 it was of moderate depth, and in Tomb 521 the front part of the tomb had been so denuded that no information about the depth of the doorway was obtainable. Tomb 528 also had a shallow doorway of the same width as its dromos, but as the tomb was extremely small and contained nothing whatsoever it cannot be dated and its evidence cannot count either way.[2]

As already stated the dromoi of the second and later type of tomb are long and narrow and regularly cut with tall sloping sides so as to be wedge-shaped in section (figs. 2, 36, 37). The floor, though it slopes downwards from the entrance to the doorway of the chamber, is much less steep than in the first type. This is probably due to the fact that the greater length of the dromos allows the abruptness of the gradient to be reduced. The doorways are usually deep in proportion to their width, and the depth is normally twice the width, whereas in the earlier type the depth and width are about the same. Typical tombs of the second or later type are Tombs 502, 505, 513, 519, 524, 525, and 531. Tombs 514 and 520 are also of this type, but, like some of the earlier tombs and Tomb 528

XXIV, and XLIII at Ialyssos (Maiuri, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 236), and in Crete in the Royal Tomb and in Tomb 1 at Isopata (Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 137 ff., pls. XCIII, XCIV, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 6 f., pl. 1).

[1] pp. 52 ff. above.

[2] Tsountas found several small tombs with no offerings or bones, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 120.

which cannot be dated, have doorways extending across the whole width of the dromos.

On the south bank of the ravine denudation on the steep slope of the Kalkani hill has in most cases damaged the actual entrance of the dromos, and the tombs on the north bank, Tombs 520–4, and 531, have had their dromoi damaged by cultivation. There consequently is little or no evidence to decide whether or not it was usual to close the entrance with a low stone wall. In the Third Kilometre Cemetery, however, in two tombs, Tombs 502 and 504, where the gentler slope of the hill and the absence of cultivation had left the dromoi undisturbed, low stone walls were found intact at the entrances to the dromoi. In Tomb 502 the entrance was blocked by one huge stone (fig. 2) and in Tomb 504 there was a low wall of three stones (fig. 5).

In the earth which filled the dromoi it will have been noted that except in those cases where there were unmistakable signs of later disturbance all the pottery with one exception is of the Bronze Age.[1] Late Helladic pottery is common, and sherds of E.H. and M.H. pottery not uncommon. The one exception is an odd Geometric sherd from the dromos of Tomb 527. Tomb 522 had been completely plundered not later than the sixth century B.C. The burials in the dromos of Tomb 533 seem to belong to the seventh century B.C. The kiln constructed at the northern end of the dromos of Tomb 513 is probably Hellenistic. The tomb near the beginning of the dromos of Tomb 531 is probably of Roman date and the burials at a high level in Tombs 518 and 527 appear to be Christian. It will be noticed, however, that in spite of these later intrusions there is no pottery later than L.H. III in the earth filling of the dromoi except in the areas specially affected. Thus the almost complete absence, except in the special cases just mentioned, of any pottery later than L.H. III suggests that on every occasion after a burial had taken place in the chamber the dromos was filled up with earth.[2] If the dromoi had been left open after the last interment no tomb would have escaped the attentions of tomb robbers of later date, particularly when Strabo[3] records that in Caesar's time ancient tombs at Corinth were systematically robbed to supply Roman collectors. If after the last interment in the tomb the dromos had been left open and had been allowed to be filled up naturally by the earth and other debris brought into it by rain and the normal accumulation of soil, pottery later in date than L.H. III would almost certainly occur. The consistent character of the broken potsherds found in the filling of the dromoi indicates that they must have been filled after the last

[1] Compare Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 129.

[2] See Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 129; Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, pp. 139 ff. Mengarelli (*Studi Etruschi*, i, p. 166) states that this was customary also in the Etruscan Tombs at Caere.

[3] viii. 6. 23.

interment, and, as will be seen, there are equally good reasons for believing that the dromos was filled up on every occasion after a burial in the chamber. In some cases, for instance in Tombs 502 and 519, a good many large stones were found in the filling of the dromos just in front of the doorway, and these seem to have been placed there purposely.[1] Either they were surplus stones from the walling of the doorway or else they were placed in front of the door to make illicit access to the chamber more difficult. Another explanation is that they may have been placed there deliberately to prevent the dead from hurling down the walling of the door and issuing from the tomb to haunt the living. The heaps of stones[2] in the dromos of Tomb 505 where only the lower courses of the walling of the door were found *in situ* may have been placed there ready to hand to rewall the doorway after having been removed from it when the tomb was opened for clearance to make room for fresh occupants.

It is extremely likely that when the dromoi were so filled each family placed some large stone or other 'marker' above the entrance to the tomb so that its position could easily be found when the next occasion arose to dig out the dromos and open the chamber. We, however, observed no such 'markers', but that does not necessarily mean that they were never used.[3]

In one case in Tomb 529 there is a small niche cut in the rock in the eastern or left-hand side of the dromos just by the side of the steps at the entrance (pl. XLIX). This niche was closed with a stone slab, but contained nothing. In Tomb 523 towards the top of the right door jamb and about the level of the top of the door was a small cutting in the rock. This was quite irregular and open. It contained fragments of L.H. III pottery, mostly pieces of unpainted kylikes. In the eastern wall of Tomb 527 there is a stone slab which was not examined as it was thought to be one end of a cist grave of Roman date similar to that in the dromos of Tomb 531. It might, however, be the closing slab of a small niche like that in Tomb 529. Such niches have already been discussed by Nilsson,[4] who quotes parallel examples from Nauplia and Asine, and connects

[1] Similar heaps of stones were found by Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 129. Persson found extra blocking walls before the doorways, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 108.

[2] Those found on each side of the carriage road, not the loose fill in front of the door, see pp. 12 ff., and fig. 7, p. 13.

[3] See Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 113 ff.; Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 127. The stelai found by Tsountas at Mycenae (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 127, figs. 4, 4*a* = Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 152, fig. 53; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1896, pp. 2 ff., pls. I, II), reused in the blocking walls of Tomb 51 and another chamber tomb near the Kato Pegadi, may have been such markers, originally placed outside the tombs, not inside, as suggested by Evans (*Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, pp. 61 ff.). Maiuri (*Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, pp. 201, 208, fig. 131) found at Ialyssos marked stones which he calls *cippi tombali*. Etruscan tombs had 'markers' which varied in shape according to the sex of the dead within, Mengarelli, *Studi Etruschi*, I, p. 166; *Not. d. Scavi*, 1915, pp. 353 ff.

[4] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 517 ff.

them with the cult of the dead, and thinks that they may have been intended for offerings to the dead made by later members of the family. Similar niches, Professor Blegen tells me, have been found in some of the chamber tombs at the Argive Heraion, where, however, they were used for the burial of infants. The use of such niches for the burial of infants is a satisfactory explanation of them and is not inconsistent with the lack of bones in some, because an infant's bones are apt to decay completely. Further if, as seems reasonably certain, the dromoi were refilled after each burial, the niches would be inaccessible except when an interment took place. Probably in the case of the death of a child it was not thought worth while to dig out the whole dromos and open the chamber. The burial of a child, no. II, in the side of the dromos of Tomb 505 as well as the niches seem to support this view.

The pit cave in the eastern side of the entrance to the dromos of Tomb 533 has no parallel in any other tomb, and as it contained no relics, its purpose is difficult to explain. It may have been used for burial like the pit cave tombs of Knossos,[1] and have been found accidentally, and robbed when the seventh-century burials took place in the dromos. It may have been made like most of the other pits or cists cut in the floors of dromoi to contain the bones and funeral offerings of previous interments removed from the chamber. It seems too large to have been used for the deposit of offerings made in connexion with the cult of the dead.

In several of the dromoi there were shallow pits dug out in the floor which held human bones and skulls and also complete vases or sherds. Of the early tombs Tomb 517 and Tomb 530 each had one such shallow pit. In these two cases there were L.H. I and II sherds with the bones. The pits were too small to have contained a skeleton laid in the contracted attitude, and the bones were packed together in a manner which showed that the bodies were already skeletons when placed in these pits. Some of the vase fragments found in the pit in Tomb 517 belonged to vases most of the fragments of which were found with early interments in the pit in the chamber. These interments in the pits in the dromoi can therefore be regarded as secondary, and as the reinterments of dead who had previously been buried in the chamber but removed to make room for new-comers. In three of the later tombs, Tombs 505, 519, and 527, burials of L.H. III date were found in the dromoi. The special circumstances which seem to have governed the cases of the skeletons found in front of the door of Tomb 505 cannot, however, concern the burial of a child found at the base of the southern wall of the dromos or the remains of two more skeletons which were found just above the dromos floor. The two latter, nos. I and III, were probably the remains of early interments removed from the tomb to make room for other

[1] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, pp. 15 ff.

burials, as also apparently skeletons nos. x–xiii in the dromos of the same tomb. The burials in the dromoi of Tombs 519 and 527 and the bones and skulls in the two pits of the dromos of Tomb 514 as well seem to be the remains of earlier interments similarly removed from the chambers.

In addition to the burials removed from the chamber carefully reinterred in shallow pits in the dromos, sometimes in clearing the chamber for new occupants the remains of previous interments were quite obviously thrown out pell-mell into the dromos. The best instance of this is Tomb 515, where the rich finds in the dromos seem to show that the earlier burials of members of what apparently was a well-to-do family were thrown out into the dromos by later members of the family without much regard for the remains of their ancestors. The same process on a minor scale seems to have taken place also in Tomb 520, and a wholesale clearance apparently was carried out in Tomb 505.

A careful examination of the pottery found in the dromoi suggests that it may be divided into four groups. The first consists of pottery of earlier date, E.H. or M.H., from the settlement on the top of the Kalkani hill which was already in the surface earth and so came accidentally into the earth fill of the dromoi.[1] It may be argued that those E.H. and M.H. sherds are the remains of the earliest interments in the tombs which had been completely cleared out for re-use in later times. Every excavator, however, knows that in a site which has been inhabited for a long time stray sherds (not complete vases) of earlier pottery have been so mingled with the soil, that they have so to speak become part of it. To use such stray sherds as evidence for the early date of a chamber tomb would be contrary to sound reasoning. In a Cretan tomb, for instance, where the complete objects are of L.M. date the presence of a few casual M.M. sherds should not necessarily be taken to prove that the tomb in question had originally been constructed in Middle Minoan times. In a grave at Zygouries in which iron heel plates lay underneath the feet of the skeleton, Blegen found complete E.H. vases, but rightly did not conclude that iron was known in E.H. times.[2] On the contrary, he concluded that this grave of Byzantine or later date had been dug down into the remains of the E.H. settlement. In dating tombs complete vases should be taken into account in preference to stray sherds. Further, as in a hoard of coins, so in a group of objects associated with a burial, the latest and not the earliest gives the date of each deposit in a chamber tomb, while the earliest definite interment dates the construction of the tomb.

Next comes broken pottery of L.H. date which can be put together or joins on to other fragments found in the chamber. These can be taken without hesitation as the remains of earlier interments removed from the chamber.

[1] pp. 76, 99, 107, 115.

[2] Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 39.

The best instance is the case of the broken vases from the dromos of Tomb 515 which when fitted together were practically complete. In the dromoi of Tombs 516, 517, 518, 529, 530, and 533 were found pieces of L.H. I-II ware which join on to other fragments found in the chambers. These, since they are not rubbed or worn, must presumably be part of the offerings associated with the earlier interments in the chambers. Tsountas in his excavations also noticed the comparative frequency with which sherds found in the dromoi joined on to others found in the chambers.[1]

The third group consists of L.H. III pottery, mostly pieces of unpainted kylikes or other plain ware. These were found in the dromoi of nearly all the tombs, and in every case the stems of unpainted kylikes were conspicuous. Such pottery occurred in the dromoi of Tombs 502, 505, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 520, 524, 525, 527, 529, 530, 531, and 533, and in the special case of Tomb 523 it has been noted that many unpainted kylix stems were found in the irregular rock-cut recess at the top of the right-hand door jamb. These unpainted kylikes are usually most plentiful in front of the actual door of the chamber, and they do not join on to other fragments found in the chamber. It seems probable, therefore, that they are connected with the funeral rites. When the doorway was walled up and the filling of the dromos with earth had already been begun, the members of the family may have gathered together in the dromos before the doorway and poured a last libation or drunk a farewell toast to the dead and then shattered the cups they used.

The last group comprises the Iron Age pottery, Geometric, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman introduced by later disturbance. Except for the Geometric sherd in the dromos of Tomb 527, in every case where Iron Age pottery was found the signs of later disturbance or intrusion were obvious, as in Tombs 513, 522, 524, 531, and 533.

In discussing the two types of tombs we have already noted that the earlier tombs have shallow doorways, with the depth practically equal in measurement to the width. The later tombs, on the other hand, except Tombs 504, 523, 524, and 527 have deep doorways in which the depth measures about twice as much as the width. Except in six tombs, Tombs 514, 517, 520, 521, 528, 532, where it is approximately of the same width, the doorway is always narrower than the dromos, but, as stated, this cannot be used as a criterion for date. In Tomb 516 the doorway is somewhat wider than the dromos. The door in all the other cases where it is narrower than the dromos is more or less accurately centred, indicating that the tombs were dug out according to definite plans. Owing to the softness of the rock and the damaged condition of most of the doorways it

[1] Personal communication from Professor Tsountas; see also Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 147.

is now almost impossible to tell what the original shape was. The doorway is always narrower at the top than at the bottom, and occasionally is a little narrower on the inside than on the outside, as, for instance, Tomb 519. In one case, in Tomb 524, the chamber widens fanwise from the inside of the doorway, but this is quite exceptional. The jambs of the doorway were intended to be straight, and are undecorated except in Tomb 530, where they have a shallow fascia some 0·10 m. wide cut along their edges. This fascia probably also ran along the front of the lintel, and seems to indicate that the lintel was intended to be horizontal. In most of the tombs the tops of the doorways had crumbled away owing to the softness of the rock, or else had been involved in a general collapse of the upper part of the tomb due to the falling of the chamber roof. Thus the original shape of the lintel is not certain. In Tomb 519 it was probably meant to be horizontal. In Tombs 502, 504, 523, 527, 528, 529, 533, where the walling of the doorway was found intact, the lower side of the lintel was more or less arched (pls. x, xiv; figs. 2, 5, 18, 39–41, 46). This may have been intentional since the soft rock would stand better in a curved than in a horizontal line. On the other hand, this curve, or rather hollowing out in the under side of the lintel, may have been caused by the constant rebuilding and removal of the walling of the doorway. That some lintels, however, were horizontal seems certain.

The floor of the doorway seems to have been intended as a general rule to be on the same level as that of the inner part of the dromos. In Tombs 516, 520, and 532 the floor of the doorway is slightly higher than that of the dromos, and in Tombs 514, 517, 521, and 522 it is slightly lower. In no case does the doorway descend by steps into the chamber.

In two of the earlier tombs, Tombs 529 and 533, the walling of the door was found intact, and in Tomb 530 just within the chamber a large heap of stones lay on the floor as though it had fallen inwards from the upper part of the walling. In four other early tombs, Tombs 516, 517, 518, and 532, part of the walling was still in existence, and in Tomb 515 no regular walling was found. Of the later tombs, in Tombs 502, 504, 519, 523, 524, 526, and 527 the walling was intact, and in all the others the lower part of the walling was found *in situ*. In Tomb 528, the date of which is uncertain, the walling was also intact. From this evidence it can be safely concluded that after an interment it was the usual practice to wall up the doorway completely with stones carefully packed together. In Tomb 529 the walling shows three distinct stages. The lowest stage fills the doorway from back to front. The second stage slightly overlaps the first in front and does not reach right to the depth of the doorway, and the third stage, which overlaps the second slightly in front, fills about half the depth of the doorway, and consists of three or four large stones only, which appear to have been thrust in to block up the small opening still remaining at the top.

The same appearace is given by the three or four large stones which formed the front of the upper part of the walling in Tomb 533. Since we know from the stratification of the chamber of Tomb 529 that it was in use from L.H. I till late in L.H. III, and that the eighteen skeletons in it lay in fairly regular layers one above the other, as also was the case in Tomb 517, it seems obvious that the three stages of the walling of the doorway in Tomb 529 represent as many stages in the use of the tomb. The lowest stage of the walling is the earliest, and apparently in the earlier use of the tomb the walling was removed completely whenever it was reopened for fresh interments. Then probably after the burial of skeleton no. VI, when the tomb was next opened for the admission of a new tenant, the whole of the walling was not completely removed, but only as far as the top of the first stage. The earth from the dromos was most likely removed only down to this level also, so that after the new interments when the doorway was re-walled, the walling projected slightly in front of the first stage. Then perhaps after the burial of skeleton no. XII, when the tomb was reopened for no. XIII, the walling was removed only as far as the top of the second stage and the earth was left in the dromos up to this level. So for the latest interments it was only necessary to dig out about half the depth of the dromos and remove the top three or four large stones of the walling. This process, which can be so clearly read in the walling and stratification of Tomb 529, appears to be confirmed by the evidence of the door of Tomb 533 and of the stratification of Tomb 517. So we can assume that a somewhat similar process took place in all the tombs, especially those first used in L.H. I or L.H. II times. In Tombs 518 and 525, where no such stratification of the skeletons within the chamber was observed, the walling of the doorway was probably removed completely on each occasion when a new burial took place. No constant rule, however, can be laid down, for everything would depend on the circumstances which would naturally change from time to time, and according also to family customs. That part or the whole of the walling was removed on each occasion of a burial seems to be confirmed also by the piles of stones[1] lying ready to hand in the dromos of Tomb 505.

It could be suggested that these stones in Tomb 505 might have been prepared to build up faults in the rock walls of its dromos or doorway, for, as it was, the south jamb of the door had been repaired with stones set in clay for a height of 0·35 m. In Tomb 502 the left-hand jamb had apparently fallen away at about half its height and been repaired with small stones packed in tough yellow clay in the usual Mycenaean method. In Tomb 515 the inner jamb of the doorway towards the chamber seems to have been repaired in a similar manner. In Tomb 520 the north side of the doorway was strengthened with a revetment

[1] See pp. 12 ff.

of rough stones extending the whole depth of the doorway and 1·00 m. into the dromos. It had four courses at the inner end (0·75 m. high) and two at the outer (0·30 m. high), and was 1·00 m. thick. Strengthening of this type seems to have been regularly employed when any damage occurred to the soft rock while the doorway was being cut out.

In the doorways few if any finds were made, the main exception being the doorway of Tomb 515, where, as stated, no regular walling was found.[1] Here, however, the finds from the doorway were generally of the same date as those from the dromos, and give the appearance of having been dropped or left in the doorway when the bulk of the remains of the L.H. II interments were swept out into the dromos. In the walling of the doorway of Tomb 533 were an unpainted kylix stem and part of a jug, no. 24, most of which was found in the chamber. This shows that the walling was rebuilt after the burial to which the jug belonged had been pushed aside to make room for a later interment. In Tomb 520 a few bones and some small miscellaneous objects of glass paste, bronze, and steatite were found among the stones of the walling, and these too appear to have been dropped when the contents of one of the earlier interments were being removed to the dromos.

The door enters the chamber approximately in the centre of one side. At least this is the impression gathered from a study of the plans, for only in nine of the tombs, Tombs 502, 515, 516, 520, 526, 528, 530, 532, and 533, is the doorway distinctly not in the centre of one wall of the chamber. In these cases the intention that the doorway should be symmetrically placed as regards the chamber was not accurately carried out. There is only one chamber in every case but one, Tomb 518, where there is a smaller chamber opening out of the main chamber at the back.[2] The small chamber does not open directly out of the main chamber, but by a doorway which is a smaller version of that of the main chamber. The chamber is roughly rectangular in plan in the later tombs, as in Tombs 502, 505, 519, 520, 521, 522, 526, and 531, but in only four of the early tombs, Tombs 518 (the main chamber), 529, 530, and 532. The sides are sometimes not parallel, as in Tomb 502, but more often the back and front are not parallel to one another, and the inner angles are rounded. In Tomb 532 both the sides slope inwards. It seems clear, however, that the intention in these cases was that the chamber should be rectangular in plan, and the lack of regularity may be attributed either to the failure of those who cut out the chamber to follow the plan accurately, or to unsuspected hardness or softness in the rock which caused a change of plan. Of the later tombs three, Tombs

[1] See p. 53.

[2] In several of the tombs he excavated at Mycenae Tsountas found smaller chambers opening off the main chamber, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pp. 137, 145, 150, 152.

504, 527, and 528, are oval, as also three of the earlier tombs, Tombs 515, 517, and the inner chamber of Tomb 518. These are more regular than those which are rectangular. A few tombs, Tombs 513, 514, 523, and 525 of the later period, and Tomb 533 of the earlier, are apsidal in plan: that is to say, the front of the chamber is approximately at right angles to the doorway, and the sides which are also at right angles to the front sweep round in a wide curve towards the back. This curving of the back line of the chamber was probably done because it was easier to cut the rock in this fashion, and there is no need to assume that an aspidal tomb chamber was influenced by the usual plan of the Middle Helladic house.[1] Tombs 516 and 524 are exceptional. In the former the doorway widens into the chamber, an effect also given by the fanwise widening of the chamber in the latter. Tomb 516 seems to have been intended to be oval in plan, and Tomb 524 to be rectangular, though the east side slants in sharply towards the back. In the rectangular tombs the door is usually in the middle of one long side, but in Tomb 524 it is roughly in the middle of one of the short sides and the tomb is deeper than it is wide, whereas all the other tombs, except Tomb 505, whether rectangular or oval are greater in width than in depth. At all events from these considerations no conclusions as to date can be drawn from the shape of the chamber.

There is little evidence available for the relation of the height to the area of the floor. Of the early tombs only two, Tombs 516 and 530, and of the late tombs seven, Tombs 502, 504, 505, 513, 519, 525, and 531, had their roofs preserved, and the remaining tomb, Tomb 528, is too small for consideration. In several of these there have been such heavy falls of the soft rock from the roof, notably in Tombs 505 and 530, that it is difficult to tell the original shape and height of the roof. The height of the tombs varies much. Tombs 516 and 525 are low in proportion to their width, but Tomb 502 is high in proportion to its width, and so is Tomb 505. In Tomb 530 the original height, so far as it can be calculated, seems to have been equal to two-thirds of the width, and in Tomb 519 the height seems to have been almost equal to the width. Consequently no rule as to the proportions of the chamber can be suggested, since they seem to have been decided by the individual circumstances of each case. In these tombs, Tombs 502, 504, 505, 513, 516, 519, 525, 530, and 531, where part of the original roof is preserved, the roof does not seem to have been flat. The sides apparently were cut upwards vertically till about 0·50 m. or 1·00 m. above the level of the lintel, and then the roof was rounded off in a wide concave sweep. In Tomb 502 this is carried so high that it suggests a dome. This concave rounding off of the roof seems to have been intentional, as it was probably discovered by experience that the soft rock would stand better in a

[1] Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 76 ff.; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 33 ff.

wide curve than on a straight horizontal line. No definite sign of the 'saddle' roof described by Persson [1] was observed.

The sizes of the chambers also offer no criterion as to date. Tombs 516 and 517, both early, are small and rather roughly cut, but others, some early, Tombs 515, 530, 533, and some later, Tombs 502, 505, 531, are spacious and well cut and planned. Tomb 504 is the only one in which the height is much out of proportion to the width and depth. As the size of the tomb must naturally have depended on the wealth, influence, taste, and size of the family, one cannot assume that the size of the tomb is necessarily an indication of any current fashion in design.

None of the chambers has any niches cut in the sides, but in three tombs, Tombs 505, 518, and 529, a rock-cut bench runs along one side of the chamber. In the second it is on the left-hand side of the entrance, and in the other two on the right-hand side. Tomb 505 was empty. In Tomb 518 a lamp, no. 46 (pl. xxxvi), and four other vases, nos. 10, 12, 40, and 43, lay on or near the bench as if they had been placed on it when the tomb was closed. The presence of the lamp suggests that the rock-cut bench may have played some part in the rites for the dead. In Tomb 529 skeleton no. viii lay on the bench where there were also found an L.H. II alabastron, no. 7, and a bronze knife, no. 25, which as stated probably did not belong to this interment. As another skeleton, no. xi, lay directly above no. viii, it is possible that when a burial took place the body was laid on the bench with its possessions arranged around it, but no certain solution about the use or purpose of the benches [2] can be reached.

Many of the tombs had one or more pits or cists cut out in the floor of the chamber. Of the early tombs, Tombs 515, 517, 532, 533 had one each and Tomb 516 had two. Of the later tombs, Tombs 502, 505, 514, 522, 527, 531 had one each, Tombs 520 and 521 had two, and Tomb 524 had three. Only one of these, that in Tomb 514, had roofing slabs *in situ*, and still contained a skeleton, that of a young woman, with a necklace of beads of glass and two silver rings. In every other case the pits had apparently been disturbed, except perhaps that in Tomb 527, which, though unroofed and containing no offerings, held an intact skeleton. It is possible that the pits were not roofed as a rule. They seem to fall into two groups. The majority are burial pits as in Tomb 514, and in Tomb 524 where skeletons were found in the pits. The small pits

[1] *Bull. Soc. R d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pp. 84 ff.; *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 75.

[2] Tsountas found both rock-cut and built benches in chamber tombs he excavated at Mycenae, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 140; Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 136. Built benches also existed in the tholos tombs at Menidi, Lolling, *Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, p. 18, pp. 37 ff., pl. 1, and Dimeni, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1886, p. 436; cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vi, p. 448. Maiuri (*Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 237) found rock-cut benches in three tombs at Ialyssos.

in Tombs 502 and 520 may have been sacrificial pits. On the other hand, the small pits in Tombs 516, 521, and 526 contained human bones, which may have been packed into them when removed from the floor of the chamber. The small pit in Tomb 531 was empty. Even if the small pits were used as sacrificial pits it is clear that the majority of the pits, if not used as primary places of interment, were used as in Tomb 517 to contain the *disiecta membra* of earlier burials swept aside to make room for new-comers. It is possible that pits which were originally meant to hold one interment only were disturbed and partially plundered by succeeding generations, and then used as charnel pits to hold the remains of any interment swept aside to prepare for others. The one possible exception is the big pit in Tomb 517, which seems to have been made for use as a charnel pit only. In many of the pits, as in Tombs 516, 524, and 533, remains of the first interment in them were found still more or less *in situ*, and the same is probably true of the gold objects found in the pit in Tomb 515.

If, when the tomb was reopened for a fresh burial, the remains of the immediately preceding burial were not packed into a pit in the dromos or chamber, or even thrown out into the dromos as in Tomb 515, they were simply swept up in a heap to the sides or corners of the chamber. Excellent examples of this can be seen in Tombs 502, 514, 519, 529, 530, and 533, and also in Tomb 516, where they were piled up above the pit on the west side of the tomb. When they were swept aside the new-comer was laid out in the middle of the space so cleared, as in Tombs 513 and 523, and as can be seen from Tombs 515, 517, and 529, the same process went on in more crowded tombs.

In two of the tombs, Tombs 502 and 517, there were small and low enclosures of stones built against one side of the chamber.[1] In Tomb 502 the enclosure, which was above a small pit, held only vases, and that in Tomb 517, which was much smaller, held only two skulls, a few bones, and some insignificant relics.

In addition to being swept aside or removed the earlier interments sometimes became covered by falls of soft friable rock from the roof or walls. In some cases probably earth was brought into the tomb to cover the remains of earlier interments. This may well have occurred in Tombs 517 and 529, and also in Tomb 515, though in that tomb it was quite clear that some of the bodies had been covered by material fallen from the roof.

We believe that these tombs were family vaults,[2] and though there is no definite proof that they were, there are reasons which tell strongly in favour of this assumption. It is evident from Tomb 529, where the walling was intact

[1] Compare the built enclosures found by Staes in the second tholos tomb at Thorikos, Πρακτικά 1893, pl. B, Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 385, fig. 163, and by Tsountas at Dimeni, Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις, p. 154, fig. 69.

[2] See below, p. 231.

and the fall of the roof had sealed down the complete contents of the tomb after the last interment when skeleton no. XVIII was buried, that no disturbance of the tomb had taken place since L.H. III times, for there was nothing of later date in it. Had the tomb been plundered and re-used in the Early Iron Age or in early classical times like Tomb 522, Geometric and Orientalizing pottery would at least have been found in it. The disturbance of the earlier burials in Tomb 529 must have taken place in Late Helladic times. Most probably such disturbances occurred on each occasion when the tomb was opened for a new interment. On these occasions, too, objects of value, especially of metal, were removed from among the offerings accompanying the earlier interments. This process was continued in Tombs 517 and 529 from L.H. I to late in L.H. III times, and in Tomb 518 almost as long, and in Tomb 515 down practically to the end of L.H. III, for it contained vases of the Granary Class. Tomb 502, although its use did not begin till well after the beginning of L.H. III, also continued in use down to the time of the Granary Class of pottery at the end of L.H. III. During this period Mycenae was undoubtedly a flourishing royal residence, and the population dependent on it presumably also enjoyed prosperity. At all events, there is no evidence of a sudden and violent change of population in the Late Helladic period, especially since the series of burials in Tombs 517 and 529 continued regularly. If there had been a change of population, or any similar interruption in the development of the culture of Mycenae, it should have been reflected in the tombs. Invaders making use of the tombs of the conquered would surely have swept them clear of all previous tenants, and it would be hard to believe that invaders had exactly the same burial customs as the invaded. Consequently the steady accumulation of human and other remains in these tombs can only be satisfactorily explained by the assumption that they are family vaults. Only the later generations of the family to which the tomb belonged would have ventured to reopen the tomb and prepare it for fresh interments by the removal or sweeping aside of the earlier remains. In Tomb 530 would strangers have so carefully packed the bones of the earlier tenants in the pit in the dromos? Such piety would more naturally be practised by members of the same kin, for strangers would hardly have revered any dead but their own. The suggestions of rites for the dead in the broken kylix stems found in the dromos outside the door might indicate a family cult of the departed, such as would most naturally be observed by the other members of the family. If later generations removed valuables from the earlier interments in the tomb it would hardly be regarded as spoliation, because the tomb and its contents were the hereditary property of the family. The stratification both of the burials in Tomb 529 and of the three successive stages of the doorway in the same tomb, together with similar evidence from Tombs 515, 517, and 518, seems

to prove that as each member of a family died his relatives reopened, swept and garnished the family tomb, and piously laid this latest scion of the race amid the bones of the ancestors to whom during his life he had paid due rites.[1] The family, once its tomb was constructed, would have continued to use it as long as its own existence was uninterrupted.

The sweeping aside or the removal to a pit in the dromos or chamber seems, to judge by Tomb 529, to have been the usual practice in L.H. I and II. In L.H. III times, though the sweeping aside still continued as in Tomb 502, in Tombs 515, 517, and 529 the L.H. III burials were not disturbed, or at least disturbed as little as possible, and each successive new-comer admitted to the sepulchre of his fathers was laid above them, so that in these tombs there were definite strata of skeletons, as can be seen by reference to the sectional plans (figs. 23, 27, 41).

The dead when laid in the tomb seem to have been placed on their backs or slightly on one side. The knees were bent upwards and the head seems to have been slightly raised, for in one case a stone was found beneath the skull and in others the lower jaw was found among the ribs.[2] The position of the hands varied. Sometimes the arms were bent upwards as in the contracted attitude of burial, sometimes they lay by the sides, but in many cases it was noted that one hand lay in the lap. This last position does not seem to have been confined to one sex, according to the evidence of the few cases where the sex is known. In the case of the king in the tholos tomb at Dendra [3] both hands were found laid in the lap, and in the case of the young woman in the pit in Tomb 514 the right hand lay in the lap. This can hardly mean that the dead were buried naked, for it seems inconceivable that with such rich and varied offerings around them they were laid in the tomb to go out of this world as naked as they came into it. The boar's tusks suggest that the warriors wore helmets, and the gold rosettes from Tomb 515 suggest that the women, like those in the Third Shaft Grave, were buried in garments richly decorated. This position of the hands of the dead has not been noted in any of the contemporary cemeteries of Crete, but has been observed in a Middle Helladic tomb at Gonia,[4] and may well have been a burial custom of the Middle Helladic folk which their descendants still practised through Late Helladic times.

In only one case was there any sign of a coffin, the small fragment of a clay bath or coffin in Tomb 502, no. 27 *a* (fig. 4). Only three other cases are known of the use of such clay coffins on the Mainland, one in Tomb 3 at Thebes,[5] one

[1] Except possibly in Tomb 518 (pp. 78, 136) there seems no evidence for a communion with the dead.
[2] Compare Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 132
[3] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 18.
[4] *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iii, p. 64 (Grave IV).
[5] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 92, fig. 66.

in the grave found in Stratum XI by the Lion Gate at Mycenae,[1] and one in Tomb 17 at the Argive Heraion. All these cases are of late L.H. III date, and the custom of burying the dead in coffins thus seems to have been excessively rare on the Mainland and only introduced at a very late period. In the contemporary cemeteries of Crete in Late Minoan times it was quite common, as in the tombs at Knossos[2] and elsewhere. Clay coffins were used in Early Minoan times in Crete,[3] and their use seems a definite Cretan custom practically unknown on the Mainland.[4] The suggestion that because the custom was common in Crete it was therefore equally common on the Mainland is contrary to the evidence.[5]

No traces of wooden biers or coffins were found in connexion with any of the interments, though traces of wooden handles were found on some of the bronze weapons. In one case in Tomb 529 a bed of yellow clay seems to have been laid in the tomb over the remains of previous interments, as a couch for the burial. This practice was also observed by Renaudin in a L.H. III tomb at Schoenochori.[6] In Tomb 515 skeleton no. IX lay on a bed of stones, which may be compared to the pebbles found by Schliemann below the bodies in the Shaft Graves[7] and to the gravel and pebble beds found by Maiuri in some tombs at Ialyssos.[8]

There seems also to have been no true embalming of the dead, for if embalming had been customary, the skeletons could not have been removed and packed bone by bone in small pits in the dromos as in Tombs 514 and 530. Further, an embalmed body swept to one side of a tomb would not have dissolved into a disorderly pile of bones, like the bodies swept against the west walls of Tombs 514 and 530.

When a tomb was reopened for a fresh interment it was apparently fumigated. In Tomb 532, nos. 10, 11 (pl. LIV), two small three-legged incense burners were found, and in Tomb 502, nos. 18, 19 (fig. 3), were remains of two others. These were probably filled with glowing charcoal on which an aromatic gum or other matter was laid, and then placed in the tombs. The burning of an aromatic would naturally tend to sweeten the air of the tomb. In Tombs 515, nos. 12, 13, 15 (pl. XXVII), 518, no. 45 (pl. XLV), and Tomb 529, nos. 22–24, clay

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 36, pl. VI *c*.

[2] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 6 ff.; *B. S. A.*, XXVIII, pp. 257 ff.

[3] Seager, *Pachyammos*, pp. 9–13, pl. XII; Ἀρχ Δελτ., IV, pp. 140 ff., figs. 3, 4.

[4] At Ialyssos too Maiuri found none, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 238.

[5] See Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, p. 11. Compare Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 38 f., who shows there cannot have been wooden coffins in the Shaft Graves.

[6] *B. C. H.*, 1923, p. 214, Tomb Δ.

[7] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 36.

[8] *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 237.

scoops with long handles and a brazier were found. These, which occur in Cretan as well as in Mainland tombs, were presumably used for carrying into the tombs glowing charcoal on which an aromatic material was laid. It is possible that the tombs were purified with charcoal fumes alone, but this might easily have proved dangerous. In the centre of Tomb 524 a large fire seems to have been lighted which blackened but did not burn the bones and potsherds of previous interments. Purification by fire in this manner has been noted in other tombs, both in Crete[1] and on the Mainland,[2] but this practice should not be confused with cremation, which demands a different rite, as was observed in the case of the Early Iron Age pyres at Halos.[3]

In L.H. III times, in Tombs 515, 517, and 529, where definite strata of interments were found one above another, when the tomb was reopened for a new interment, a layer of earth was laid over the remains of the preceding tenant. This may have been done just before the closing of a tomb after a burial, but it is more probable that it was done on reopening the tomb as a purification to prepare for a new burial. Sometimes, as noticed in Tomb 515, falls of soft rock from the roof covered up an interment before the next one was made.

No limit seems to have been set to the number of burials in a tomb. In Tomb 515 at least twenty-one persons had been buried, in Tomb 517 fifteen, in Tomb 518 ten, in Tomb 529 eighteen, in Tomb 532 twenty-one, and in Tomb 505 fifteen. On the other hand in Tomb 528 no remains of any burial were found, and probably the tomb was used for one interment only, that of a child whose bones had perished completely. In Tomb 504 there seems to have been only one burial. The one definite case of the burial of a young person, apart from the child's skeleton put in the side of the dromos of Tomb 505, is the skeleton of an adolescent girl in the pit in Tomb 514 which had remained untouched, though the bones packed in cists in the dromos and the pile of skulls and bones on the western side of the tomb showed that many adult tenants of the tomb had been swept aside. Perhaps this was the grave of a much loved daughter which family piety preserved intact in spite of the usual custom.

It has been suggested that the terra-cotta figurines with L.H. III burials indicate that they frequently, if not regularly, are part of the funeral furniture of children's graves. Unfortunately the terra-cotta figurines found by us[4] were mostly in tombs where removal and disturbances of earlier burials had made it impossible to tell with which skeleton the terra-cotta figurines had originally been laid, and in Tomb 504 the one skull found seemed to be that of

[1] See Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, pp. 3 ff.
[2] Cf. *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, p. 81 f.
[3] *B. S. A.*, xviii, pp. 10 ff.
[4] See below, pp. 215 ff.

an adult. We cannot therefore tell whether any special distinction in this respect can be drawn between the burial of an adult and the burial of a child.

From the objects found in the tombs it would seem that weapons and utensils, useful in this world and therefore presumably in the next as well, accompanied the dead. Jewellery, ornaments, and other treasured possessions were laid with them also. The girl in the cist in Tomb 514 had a necklace of glass beads and two silver rings, probably her favourite trinkets. The body in the pit in Tomb 515, probably that of a woman, had been dressed in garments adorned with gold, and in Tomb 517 skeleton no. XI, probably also a woman, had a long necklace of crystal and other beads. The engraved gems found in Tombs 515 and 518, and the beads from these tombs, as well as those from Tombs 502, 513, 517, 520, 524, 526, 529, show that semi-precious ornaments were common. The gold ring and beads from Tomb 520, and the gold ring and other ornaments from Tomb 518, prove that objects of real value were also laid with the dead, as well as rare and exotic objects from Egypt or elsewhere. Care should be taken in dating a tomb or an interment by any object of value or rarity. A presumed stylistic date for the gold ring in Tomb 520 should not be preferred to the pottery as evidence for the date of the tomb. Similarly the date of the fragment of an Early Dynastic Egyptian porphyry bowl (no. 53) cannot be used as evidence for the dating of Tomb 518. Objects of stone from their indestructibility, and objects of gold from their liability to be used as heirlooms, are notoriously unsafe means for dating tombs. In every case the pottery gives the best chronological guide, especially when there is clear stratification as in the Kalkani tombs. Dates formerly arrived at from the evidence of other chamber tombs previously excavated at Mycenae or other Late Helladic sites, where the stratification of the interments and the position of the objects were not recorded, cannot be regarded as sound.[1] The weapons, jewellery, ornaments, and valuables were clearly for the use and enjoyment of the dead. The same must hold true of part at least of the pottery. Some of the vases, the incense burners, charcoal scoops, and braziers, obviously had to do with the purification of the tombs, and possibly the lamps were connected with the rites of the dead, although they may have been intended to give the dead light in the underworld. One type of vase common in these chamber tombs at Mycenae and other Mainland sites, the flat alabastron, the origin of which is not certain,[2] is not so often found among the pottery from inhabited sites.[3] It is rare in the contemporary cemeteries of Isopata, Zafer Papoura, and

[1] See Childe, *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift*, xiii, p. 38.

[2] See below, p. 150 f.

[3] e.g. Korakou (Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 42, 50) and Mycenae itself (*B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 23, 73, 80, 82, 96, 177).

Mavro Spelio at Knossos. Its frequent occurrence then in chamber tombs on the Mainland (eight, for instance, were found in Tomb 515, fourteen in Tomb 518, and eight in Tomb 529) suggests that it is more characteristic of the Mainland than of Crete, and may have had some special purpose in connexion with the dead.[1]

From these observations recorded during the excavation of the chamber tombs at Mycenae we can attempt a reconstruction of the burial customs practised by the upper classes in the Late Helladic period. The tombs, as noted first by Tsountas many years ago, were grouped near the settlement which each clan or group of families inhabited, and their orientation depends solely on the lie of the land. There is, however, no absolute uniformity of burial customs or of tomb types in any group of tombs. For chamber tombs the hill-side should not be too steep or the gradient too gentle, and the rock should be soft and preferably of a conglomerate type. The site being chosen the dromos would be first excavated as an open gallery cut more or less horizontally into the hill-side, but always sloping downwards as it went inwards. The sides of the dromos were cut according to the prevailing fashion. In L.H. I and II the dromos sloped down steeply, and sometimes steps[2] were cut to gain the necessary depth more quickly. The dromos, too, was broad in proportion to its length, and the sides, while sloping inwards towards the top, were slightly arched or curved. In L.H. III the dromos was long and narrow, and the sides sloped inwards rather sharply and straightly, so that in cross-section the dromos is wedge-shaped. When the dromos had been driven sufficiently far into the hill, the doorway was marked out on the rock face and then cut out. The width of the doorway was, as a rule, less than that of the dromos. In the earlier tombs the doorway was cut to a depth equal to its width, but in the later tombs the depth was equal to twice the width. If during the cutting of the doorway or dromos damage was caused by an accident due to a fault or soft vein in the rock as in Tombs 502, 505, 515, 520, it was made good by building up with stones set in the tough yellow clay which the Mycenaeans used as mortar. The doorway completed, the chamber was hewn out as a kind of artificial cave sometimes roughly rectangular in plan, sometimes oval, and sometimes apsidal as a kind of compromise between the other two plans. The height of the chamber was apparently not determined by any fixed rule, and may have

[1] The two alabastra in the chamber of Tomb 530, nos. 7, 8 (pl. LIII), were full of a peculiar greyish-yellow earth with a curious greasy feel. A sample of this which Mr. H. Terrey of University College, London, kindly analysed contained traces of oil, but not enough to enable the character of the oil to be determined.

[2] Steps were found by Tsountas in Tomb 10 at Mycenae, Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 128, and by Maiuri in some tombs at Ialyssos, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi-vii, p. 236 f., fig. 152.

depended largely on the character of the rock, but it was usually either slightly less than the width or about equal to it. The roof was not flat but concave, and sometimes of a saddle type. On the completion of the actual construction the tomb was ready for the first interment. The dead was brought into the chamber, probably in his usual habit, and laid out with his cherished possessions around him, including the normal necessaries of life for either world according to his rank or occupation. The head was slightly raised, and the knees bent upwards. As a rule one hand seems to have lain in the lap, while the other arm was stretched at the side. Sometimes the first tenant of the tomb would be laid with his possessions and funeral gear in a pit cut out in the floor which was sometimes roofed with slabs of stone. When the rites within the chamber were ended, the whole of the doorway was solidly walled up with stones. Then the members of the family seem to have poured a final libation or drunk a farewell toast before the walled door, and to have shattered the kylikes they used and left the fragments in front of the closed entrance. Finally, earth was shovelled into the open dromos and the hill-side was levelled over, and probably a large stone was set up to mark the position of the family sepulchre. The walling of the entrance and the filling of the dromos, especially the loose mass of stones sometimes found before the door, are usually assumed to be due to the desire to preserve the family sepulchre unviolated, but they may have been due in part at least to fear lest the dead should issue from the tomb and walk.

When the next death occurred in the family the earth was dug out of the dromos and the walling of the doorway was removed.[1] Then the chamber was purified, if necessary, by aromatic material burnt on charcoal braziers or in incense burners. If the first tenant had been laid in a pit he was probably left undisturbed on the first reopening of the tomb. If he had been laid out on the rock floor in the centre of the chamber, room had to be made for the new-comer. Then the bones of the first tenant, with some perhaps of his possessions, would be collected and packed in a small pit dug out in the floor of the dromos, or they might be simply swept aside to one corner of the chamber. In some tombs, as in Tomb 518, a small alcove might be dug out at the back to serve as a charnel house where the remains of earlier interments could be deposited. Possibly the removal of the remains of earlier burials did not take place till most of the floor space of the chamber was occupied. After the second interment the door was again walled up, a libation offered, and the dromos filled in again. A similar process was observed on each occasion, though the methods employed to remove the remains of the earlier occupants varied. Sometimes, as in Tomb 517, a large pit in the floor was

[1] Except possibly in the case of a child, see p. 129.

made, and into it were swept the bones and other remains of the early interments. Occasionally they were thrown out into the dromos as in Tomb 515. In some cases they were left undisturbed and covered with earth, if they had not been already covered by fallen rock. The more usual method was to sweep them aside into a corner or against one wall of the chamber. When a tomb was reopened the members of the family who entered and dealt with the remains of their kin may also have searched for useful or valuable objects, especially of metal, bronze, gold, or silver, and have taken them away. This does not seem to have been looked on as sacrilege, but presumably if the dead were a skeleton, he would be considered as having no further use for the possessions laid with him, or their usefulness to him may have been considered exhausted. It seems strange that when so much care was taken in constructing and closing the tombs, and so much reverence displayed in burying the dead with their possessions, the members of the family should afterwards have apparently had no scruples in removing objects from tombs and in treating the actual bones of the dead with rather scant ceremony. It was perhaps held that after the burial in the tomb, and after the decay of the flesh, the dead was believed to have passed to the underworld and to have no further use for his mortal tenement. At all events the process of removing the earlier burials went on till sometimes, as apparently in Tombs 505, 515, and 530, it became necessary to clear the tomb out completely and start afresh so to speak. In some cases, as in Tombs 515 and 517 after the earlier burials, and in Tomb 529, the dead were laid one above another in layers, so that, as in Tomb 529, both chamber and dromos became much congested and available only for partial use.

There was no evidence in these tombs except perhaps the skeletons lying in the dromos of Tomb 505 before the entrance to the chamber, for or against the view that the Mycenaeans practised human sacrifice.[1] Homer[2] certainly knew of the custom of slaying slaves or captives as well as horses and dogs at the burial of a hero, and it is possible that wives were also so slain at the burial of their husbands. These customs may have already existed in Late Helladic times. The presence of dog's bones in tombs, as in Tombs 505 and 533,[3] suggests that a favourite hound was slain at the funeral,[4] so that it could accompany its master in his sport in the underworld. Slaves and concubines might then also be killed at the burial with the same idea in view. Until more

[1] Tsountas, Ἐχ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pp 130 ff.; Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 151; Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, 1904, pp. 370; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 68 ff.

[2] *Iliad*, Ψ, ll. 171 ff.

[3] See pp. 14, 116.

[4] Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, Ψ, ll. 173 ff.

definite evidence, however, is forthcoming, judgement on these points should be suspended.[1]

After the latest burial had been made, the doorway walled, and the dromos filled for the last time, the tomb remained undisturbed and its position was forgotten in the troubled times which followed the downfall of Mycenae. The family may have been extinguished, or have been compelled to seek refuge elsewhere. Then unless a farmer trying to till the rough slopes accidentally found a tomb, or the Greeks of later days struck a Bronze Age chamber tomb in digging a tomb for their own dead, the cemeteries lay untouched till their archaeological exploration in recent times. Now their scientific excavation has given us a vivid picture of the social and religious manners and customs of a people whose very existence was unsuspected till Schliemann first began work at Mycenae.

B. The Pottery.

Although the adjective Mycenaean has for many years been rather loosely applied to a large class of pottery of the Late Bronze Age, it is remarkable that the amount of pottery or of vases of this period from Mycenae itself which has been published is comparatively small. In their two publications Furtwängler and Loeschcke illustrated and described the vases from the Shaft Graves, and many fragments from Schliemann's excavations.[2] From the many tombs excavated by Tsountas, practically no pottery has yet been published, except two reconstructed amphorae of the Palace Style of Late Helladic II from Tomb 102 illustrated by Mackenzie and by Bosanquet.[3] From our excavations on the acropolis, in the Grave Circle, and in the Palace, and from the Tholos Tombs a considerable number of important pieces, mostly fragmentary, illustrating the development of ceramic art at Mycenae during the Late Bronze Age, has already been published.[4] Still, except for the few vases from the Shaft Graves, no other collection of complete vases from Mycenae has yet been discussed or illustrated.[5] Consequently the long sequence of over three hundred

[1] See Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 531, note 4. The human remains found in the Grave Circle outside the Shaft Graves were not the result of human sacrifices (Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 97), but came from Middle Helladic tombs which belonged to the early cemetery (*B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 118).

[2] *Mykenische Thongefässe* (1879); *Mykenische Vasen* (1886); the vases from the Shaft Graves have now been republished by Karo in his *Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (1930).

[3] *J. H. S.*, 1903, p. 192, fig. 10; *J. H. S.*, 1904, pp. 322 ff., pl. xiii; see p. 3 above.

[4] *B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 20 ff., figs. 6–9, 11, 12, p. 81, fig. 19, p. 107, fig. 25, p. 150, fig. 33, pls. v–xi, xiv, xxiii, xxxi, xlv, xlvii–lii.

[5] Most of the Museum collections outside Greece of complete 'Mycenaean' vases consist of specimens from islands like Rhodes and not from Mycenae or the Mainland. In Greece outside

and fifty complete vases from the tombs excavated by us in the Kalkani and Third Kilometre Cemeteries is extremely valuable as illustrating the evolution of ceramic style during the three stages of the Late Bronze Age at Mycenae, especially since in many cases they come from tombs like Tombs 515, 517, and 529, where the stratification is exceptionally clear. For the first time, too, they give a good series of vases representing the first two stages of the Late Bronze Age (Late Helladic I and II) from Mycenae.[1] They[2] make it much easier to compare or contrast the Late Minoan wares of Crete with the Late Helladic vases of Mycenae and the Mainland.

The following classification and discussion include neither the casual sherds of E.H. and M.H. wares nor the Geometric and other Iron Age pieces.

LATE HELLADIC I.

A. Decorated Pottery.

Technique.

The vases are all wheel made, but there is not uncommonly some slight unevenness in the execution, although the clay is well refined. The shapes are apt to be slightly untrue. The clay varies in colour from greenish yellow to a pinkish buff, and it is covered with a smooth and almost lustrous slip of the same colour as the clay itself. The varying colour of the biscuit, greenish-yellow, pinkish-buff, clear red, does not necessarily mean that the vases were fired at different temperatures, for probably all were fired at approximately the same temperature. The conditions in the kiln determine the colour which depends on the presence or absence of oxygen and carbon. The colour of the paint similarly varies from black through all shades of brown to red. The black paint is apt to flake off. It often happens, as for instance on Tomb 517, no. 10 (pl. I), on Tomb 518, no. 15 (pl. V), that the colour of the paint on a vase varies from deep brown to clear red, in such a way that one is almost inclined to

Athens the best collections are in the Museums of Chalcis, Corinth, Nauplia, and Thebes. The Greek Government has presented to the British Museum a collection of pieces from the excavations at Mycenae and elsewhere, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, pp. 128 ff., A 751–A 799 (except A 755), pp. 199 ff., A 1041–A 1051, A 1057–A 1084. (The vase A 781, p. 134, fig. 175, is not from Mycenae as there stated, but from Markopoulo in Attica.)

[1] A considerable amount of Late Helladic I and II pottery, all fragmentary, was found in our excavations in the Palace and in the Tomb of Aegisthus at Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 150, 157 ff., 175 306 ff., pls. xxiii, xxxi *p–s*, xlvii–lii.

[2] The photographs from which many of the vases have been reproduced were taken by Mr. Petritses of Athens in the Nauplia Museum in the summer of 1923. Those who know the difficulties of photographing in a Greek provincial museum in the heat of summer without all the proper equipment will understand and be charitable if the results are not in all cases as satisfactory as could be desired.

believe that it was done intentionally. On the earlier vases dots and lines are often added in matt white paint which is not fixed and easily wears off, Tomb 517, nos. 10, 11, Tomb 518, no. 37, Tomb 529, no. 1, Tomb 530, no. 1 (pls. I, XXXIV, XLI).

Shapes.

The principal shapes are:

Drinking Vessels: Cup, tea-cup type, shallow, Tomb 517, nos. 1, 2, 11 (pl. XXXIV), Tomb 518, nos. 37 (pl. XLI), 38, Tomb 529, no. 1 (pl. I); or deep, Tomb 516, no. 1 (pl. XXXIII), Tomb 518, no. 36 (pl. XLI), Tomb 530, no. 1. The former is a characteristic Mainland shape,[1] quite uncommon in Crete, and the latter is the Cretan version[2] which is rare on the Mainland. The shape of the rim and the form of the handle are distinctly metallic, although no exact parallels in metal are known.[3] It is noteworthy that two examples of the deep Cretan shape bear the Cretan form of the double axe pattern,[4] and one of them, Tomb 518, no. 36, is covered inside with black glaze paint in the Cretan manner.[5]

Cup, Vaphio type, showing as is natural strong metallic influence in the handle and in the raised band round the middle of the body,[6] Tomb 517, no. 4, Tomb 518, nos. 34, 35 (pl. XLI), Tomb 530, no. 2 (pl. LII). The two from Tomb 518 are similar in design and shape to those from Korakou,[7] and their characteristic Mainland form can be contrasted with the Cretan type which is that of rippled examples from Knossos and Palaikastro.[8] The Cretan examples also are covered with glazed paint inside.

Goblet, on stem, with one or two ribbon handles. These can be regarded as painted examples of the Yellow Minyan goblets[9] descended from M.H. times, Tomb 517, nos. 3, 22, Tomb 518, no. 33 (pl. XLI). The first two resemble in shape the Yellow Minyan goblets from the same tomb, nos. 16, 17 (pl. XXXIV), and the design on the second recalls that popular on cups of the Vaphio shape (pl. XLI, 35).[10] The third, from Tomb 518, no. 33, has an unusual design, but is, like most vases of

[1] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 41, p. 37, fig. 57, 2, 3; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 135 (4), fig. 99, 1; *B.S.A.*, XXV, pl. XXIII*a*.

[2] E.g. Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. VIII, 8.

[3] Compare, however, the two silver cups from the Fourth Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, pp. 110, 111, nos. 509, 519, pl. CXXVII.

[4] Cf. *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 130, A 754; Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 175; see below, p. 152 f.

[5] *J.H.S.*, 1903, pp. 251 ff.

[6] Compare the gold cups from the Second, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Shaft Graves, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 70, no. 220, pls. LXXII, CLXX, p. 103, no. 441, pl. CVII, p. 122, no. 627, pl. CXXIII, p. 161, no. 912, fig. 78.

[7] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 39, fig. 53, 1, 4, p. 40, fig. 54; cf. *B.S.A.*, XXV, pls. XXIII *i*, XLVII *l*, *q*; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 135, fig. 99 (4); Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, pp. 112 ff., figs. 90, 91.

[8] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 593, fig. 435; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 24, fig. 13.

[9] See below, pp. 155, 163.

[10] Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 39, 40, figs. 53 (1, 4, 6), 54.

this shape, distinctly metallic in character.[1] Tomb 517, no. 6, probably comes from a goblet of this type.[2]

Saucer, shallow with one ring handle on the rim, another metallic and a popular shape, Tomb 516, no. 4 (pl. II), Tomb 517, nos. 12 (pl. XXXIII), 15 (pl. XXXIV), 24, Tomb 518, nos. 39 (pl. II), 41 (pl. XLIV), Tomb 533, no. 7 (pl. II). The stud at the base of the handle in the examples from Tomb 518, no. 39, and Tomb 533, no. 7, shows the connexion between this ceramic shape and its metal prototype as in the gold and silver saucers from the Fifth Shaft Grave and the Vaphio and Dendra Tombs.[3] The same example from Tomb 518, no. 39, and two from Tomb 517, nos. 12 and 15, are decorated inside in the Cretan manner, but do not appear to be of Cretan fabric. The third one, from Tomb 517, no. 24, is covered inside with glaze paint in the Cretan manner, as seen in the L.M. I pottery from Zakro.[4] The ivy-leaf design occurs on three of the examples, Tomb 516, no. 4, Tomb 518, no. 39, and, in transitional form, on Tomb 533, no. 7.

Pouring Vessels: Jar, hole-mouthed. This is a Cretan[5] shape adopted on the Mainland where, however, it is not very common, Tomb 516, no. 10,[6] Tomb 518, no. 4 (pl. XXXIX), Tomb 533, no. 2 (pl. LVI). The last has the Mainland form of the double axe pattern, and the pattern on the example from Tomb 518, no. 4, has a typical early L.H. I pattern, but the vase is of rather poor quality, as the black paint is apt to flake off.

Jug, with bridged spout, another shape with strong Cretan connexions[7] and clear metallic influence, Tomb 516, no. 3 (pl. XXXIII), Tomb 518, no. 31 (pl. IV). The latter shows the Cretan form of the double axe pattern combined with the sacral knot,[8] and the former closely resembles a jug from a tomb at Thebes.[9] There is no reason to suppose that either is of Cretan fabric, and they can therefore be considered Mainland imitations of Cretan vases, or else vases made on the Mainland by Cretan potters.

Jug, with cutaway neck.[10] Only one example was found, Tomb 518, no. 1 (pl. III),[11] and

[1] The metallic forms are represented by the gold and silver cups from the Fourth and Fifth Shaft Graves (Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 102, no. 427, pl. CVII, p. 112, no. 520, pl. CXXVII, p. 125, no. 656, pl. CXXVI) and the four cups from the Golden Treasure (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 350, fig. 528). For a later example in bronze from Knossos, see Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pl. LXXXIX *n*.

[2] Two goblets of this shape, one painted, one unpainted, were found in the Vaphio Tomb, Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, p. 154, pl. VII, 19.

[3] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 142, no. 786, pl. CXXXVI; Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. VII, 15; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 50, fig. 29.

[4] Dawkins, *J. H. S.*, 1904, pp. 251 ff.

[5] In Crete the shape goes back to M. M. I or E.M. III; see Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pl. XI *C*, *D*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, no. A 432, pl. VI.

[6] Compare the fragment from Mycenae, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXVI, 195.

[7] Compare the jugs from Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 38, fig. 26; *B. S. A.*, IX, p. 284, fig. 5; and the M. M. I examples from the same site, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pl. IX *a*, *b*, *d*.

[8] Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 176 ff.

[9] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. IX, 2. Cf. Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, III, p. 199, fig. 143 (2).

[10] Compare Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 41 (5).

[11] A vase from Vari similar to this both in shape and design but much smaller (0·10 m. high) and inferior in style is in the Museum of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore.

in this the cutaway of the neck is not particularly noticeable. The ribbed handle with the stud at the point where it is attached to the neck and the knob at its base, the raised collar at the bottom of the neck and the ring round the base indicate the metallic origin of the shape. The spiral pattern on the shoulder recalls that on the silver jug from the Fifth Shaft Grave.[1]

Jug, squat, Tomb 516, no. 2 (pl. XXXIII), Tomb 518, nos. 7, 8 (pl. XLII). This shape,[2] which occurs in the Third Shaft Grave,[3] was already in use before the end of the Middle Helladic period,[4] and the pattern on the example from Tomb 516, no. 2, is also known on M.H. pottery.[5] The two examples from Tomb 518, nos. 7 and 8, belong to a small group of vases which differs considerably from the usual L.H. I and II ware of Mycenae and is discussed further below.[6]

Storage Vessels: Alabastron (Squat Bowl), two varieties, one with a vertical profile, Tomb 517, nos. 13 (pl. XXXIII), 14 (pl. XXXIV), Tomb 518, nos. 17 (pl. XL), 19 (pl. XXXIX), and one with a curved profile, Tomb 518, no. 20 (pl. XL). The origin of the shape is still doubtful, but it does not seem to be native either to the Mainland or to Crete, though Petrie calls it Cretan.[7] The baggy alabastron is well known in clay in Crete,[8] and is copied from the later XVIIIth Dynasty type in alabaster,[9] which was often imported into Crete and to the Mainland. The flat alabastron, on the other hand, is excessively rare in Egypt, if not unknown. A good example, with a vertical profile, was found at Enkomi,[10] and one with a curved profile at Gaza.[11] The latter type occurs in clay in Crete [12] and on the Mainland,[13] where it was far

[1] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 855, p. 148, pl. CXXXIV.

[2] Of the six examples of this shape figured by Evans (*Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 512, fig. 315), four are from the Mainland, and only one from Crete. Mylonas figures three from Eleusis, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 119, figs. 97, 98.

[3] Karo, *op. cit.*, no. 156, p. 63, pl. CLXVI.

[4] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 34 (1), p. 35, fig. 49, 3.

[5] Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 27, fig. 37.

[6] See below, pp. 152, 158, 163.

[7] *Ancient Gaza*, i, p. 8.

[8] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 147; *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 3 f., p. 87, fig. 94; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pls. VII, 15, VIII, 7; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 37, fig. 25, p. 79 f., fig. 63.

[9] Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, pp. 17, nos. 19, 20, 24, nos. 35, 36, 25, nos. 46, 57, nos. 99–101, 59, no. 104, 63, no. 148 (= Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 101, no. 8), 100, no. 287. Petrie (*op. cit.*, p. 8) says that many of the alabaster vases are Syrian work though of Egyptian material.

[10] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 143.

[11] Petrie, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIV, XXV, 10. Perhaps the excavations at Ras Shamra and Minet-el-Beida will throw light on the origin of the shape.

[12] E.g., Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 498, fig. 304, *f* (from Egypt); *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 16, pl. II, p. 20, fig. 30, p. 25, fig. 35, p. 87, fig. 93; *B.S.A.*, XXVIII, p. 258, fig. 11; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 651, pl. VIII (from Egypt). Five alabaster examples were found in the Throne Room at Knossos, *B.S.A.*, VI, p. 41. The Middle Minoan jar from the Kamares Cave said to be connected with this type of alabastron is really a variety of the hole-mouthed jar shape. *B.S.A.*, XIX, p. 20, pl. IX, above.

[13] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 42 (7). It was common at Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 227, fig. 17, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, III, p. 135 (5, 6), fig. 99, p. 145 (6–10), fig. 107, pp. 151–2 (1–13), fig. 113, pp. 199–201 (14–24), fig. 144. See below, p. 157. Fragments of three alabaster examples were found in Tomb II at Asine, Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, p. 87.

more popular than in the island. There is no evidence to show whether it was introduced to the Mainland direct or via Crete. The two examples of the first type from Tomb 517, nos. 13, 14, appear to have come from the same workshop and neither is of particularly good fabric. Of those from Tomb 518, nos. 17 and 20 seem to be from the same workshop, and no. 19 may also belong to the same group, although its base,[1] unlike those of the other four, is not ornamented with the wheel pattern, which is the usual decoration of the bases of both varieties of alabastra in L.H. I and II.[2] The pattern on Tomb 517, no. 13, occurs on a saucer from the First Shaft Grave and on a sherd from the Tomb of Aegisthus.[3]

Amphora, with three handles. There was only one example, Tomb 518, no. 6 (pl. XLII). The various types of this shape are well illustrated by the seven examples of it from the First Shaft Grave,[4] of which no less than four are like this vase decorated with the Mainland version of the double axe pattern.[5] The fabric of this Kalkani specimen is not good, and in consequence the paint has largely flaked off.

Jar, ovoid, Tomb 517, no. 9 (pl. XXXIII), which is of unusual form and decoration. The same shape appears in two vases from Cyprus in the British Museum, A 635, A 755,[6] the latter of which repeats the decoration of this example.

Miscellaneous Vessels: Brazier, for carrying charcoal, Tomb 518, no. 45 (pl. XLV). This vase is exceptional, and in shape and decoration resembles the Cretan examples discussed by Evans.[7] It differs considerably from the scoops which may have been used for a similar purpose.[8]

Rhyton, ovoid, Tomb 517, no. 10 (pls. I, XXXIII). This, although it copies the Cretan ceramic shape imitating a rhyton made of an actual ostrich egg with added mouthpiece and outlet, is in many respects one of the most characteristic L.H. I vases. The colour of the glaze paint which shades from deep brown to clear red, the fine fabric with smooth slip, the pattern of linked spirals, and the added ornament in unfixed white are features which reappear on the cup of tea-cup type from Tomb 529, no. 1 (pl. I), and on other characteristic L.H. I vases.[9] This type of rhyton and its derivation has already been discussed and illustrated by Evans.[10] It will be noticed that this example is much more ovoid in form than those from the Second Shaft Grave and from Gournia.[11]

[1] Compare the pattern on the base of vase no. 365 from Eleusis, Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 125, fig. 104.

[2] See pp. 154, 158.

[3] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 67, no. 197, pl. CLXVIII; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XLVII *k*.

[4] Karo, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7, nos. 190–6, pl. CLXVII.

[5] As also another example from Mycenae, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXVII, 209.

[6] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 103, pl. VIII, p. 130, fig. 173; the former hardly seems to be Cretan, and though it might be of Mainland origin, is perhaps of island (Rhodian ?) fabric.

[7] *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 28; a L. H. III variety was found at Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 110, fig. 156.

[8] See below, pp. 164, 184; cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 160, fig. 155.

[9] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XXIII *a*, *b*.

[10] *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 224–5, fig. 129.

[11] *Op. cit., fig. cit.*

Spreading dish on tall hollow stem, Tomb 518, no. 9 (pl. XLII). This unusual vase has some resemblance to the pedestal vases of Phylakopi,[1] which have a hole in the central boss of the dish and are thought to have had some cult purpose. This, like Tomb 518, nos. 5, 7, 8 (pl. XLII), is of a peculiar fabric, which is discussed below.[2]

Patterns.

The patterns generally employed for decorating the L.H. I vases from the tombs of the Kalkani Cemetery are few, and they are linear and geometric rather than floral and naturalistic. They fall into the following main groups:

Linear and Geometric.

Chessboard Pattern. This is found in the Mattpainted ware of the Middle Helladic period,[3] but is rare in L.H. I, occurring here on one vase only, Tomb 518, no. 33 (pl. XLI), and does not become popular again till L.H. III.[4]

Concentric Circles, an uncommon design. It occurs here on Tomb 518, no. 7 (pl. XLII), a vase which belongs to the peculiar group discussed below.[5]

Cross. This pattern occurs occasionally in L.H. I,[6] Tomb 517, no. 13 (pl. XXXIII), and usually in combination with dots.

Dotted Ground. The practice of filling the ground with dots begins in L.H. I and may have been borrowed from the Cretan imitations of stones,[7] but it is not common in Crete. A dotted ground is usually combined with some other pattern, crosses, wave pattern, &c. The best examples are Tomb 516, no. 10, Tomb 517, no. 14 (pl. XXXIV), Tomb 518, nos. 19, 20, 31 (pls. XXXIX, XL, IV).

Double Axe. The common form on the Mainland has curving blades but no haft.[8]

[1] *Phylakopi*, pl. XXVII, 1 A, 1 B, pp. 137 ff., fig. 110.

[2] See above, pp. 80, 150, and below, pp. 158, 163.

[3] Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 157, fig. 219, p. 168, fig. 235 (1); *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 48, fig. 50, A. 274 (6); *B. C. H.*, 1906, p. 27, figs. 43, 45, 46; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 88, fig. 66; compare *Memoirs American Academy, Rome*, x, pl. 22, 243.

[4] For instance, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXXIV, 341. It appears in L. M. II in Crete, Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 159, fig. 144; Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, i, pl. XXI, 1 = *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, pl. XXXVII, 1.

[5] See pp. 80, 150 above, and pp. 158, 163 below.

[6] Compare the vase from the First Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 67, no. 197, pl CLXVIII, and the sherd from the Tomb of Aegisthus, *B. S. A.*, xxv, pl. XLVII *k*.

[7] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, pp. 596 ff., fig. 438, pl. VII; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 36, fig. 24; *B. S. A.*, xix, p. 24, pl. IX; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 663, p. 109, fig. 138; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 310, pl. XXIV, 10; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pls. VII, 40, VIII, 18, IX, 1.

[8] See from Mycenae the vases from the First Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, pp. 66 ff., nos. 190–2, 195, pl. CLXVII, fragments from the Tomb of Aegisthus, *B. S. A.*, xxv, pls. XLVII *h*, XLVIII *p*, and other pieces; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 754, A 775, 1–7, pp. 129, 131, figs. 172, 174; *B. S. A.*, xxv, pl. XXIII *l*; Eleusis Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, p. 73, fig. 13, Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, pp. 115, fig. 93 (1), 116, fig. 94, 121, fig. 99 (1); Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 39, fig. 52, 1; Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 136, fig. 128 (7); Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 227, fig. 188; Phylakopi, *B.S.A.*, xvii, pl. XIV, 7; compare also Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 986. See further, Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 175.

The latter is replaced by pairs of wavy lines above and below. These axes are usually in panels[1] separated by vertical bars or rows of dots. They occur on Tomb 518, no. 6 (pl. XLII), and Tomb 533, no. 2 (pl. LVI).

The Cretan type, with a haft surmounted by a ball,[2] occurs on two vases, Tomb 516, no. 1 (pl. XXXIII), Tomb 518, no. 36 (pl. XLI), and on another it is combined with the sacral knot, Tomb 518, no. 31[3] (pl. IV).

Ogival Canopy, so-called by Evans.[4] It is a sort of gadrooning, and may be compared with the gadroon or festoon pattern which is incised on some Minyan vases.[5] It also suggests the pattern on a Middle Helladic cup from the Sixth Shaft Grave.[6] In Crete[7] it occurs in L.M. I *b*, but on the Mainland[8] seems to begin just before the end of L.H. I, and is found here on one vase, Tomb 516, no. 3 (pl. XXXIII).

Ripple or Grained Ornament. This, which has a long history in Crete and flourished particularly in M.M. III and L.M. I *a*,[9] occurs rarely on the Mainland in L.H. I.[10] It occurs here on a broken vase from Tomb 530, no. 2 (pl. LII).

Spirals and Spiraliform Designs. The favourite form, Tomb 517, nos. 1, 10 (pls. I, XXXIII), 11 (pl. XXXIV), Tomb 518, nos. 1 (pl. III), 37 (pl. XLI), 38, Tomb 529, no. 1 (pl. I), Tomb 530, no. 1, is a belt of spirals well drawn with a central eye and connected with

[1] Already pointed out by Forsdyke, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 129, A 754.

[2] Knossos, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 437, fig. 254; Zakro, *J. H. S.*, 1903, p. 255, figs. 23, 24; Gournia, Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. VIII, 26, pl. G 1, I 2; Pseira, Seager, *Pseira*, pl. VII, p. 31, fig. 12; Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pl. XX *a*. It occurs on some imported pieces at Phylakopi, *B. S. A.*, xvii, p. 15, fig. 2 (19), pl. XIV, 8, 12, and occasionally on the Mainland, at Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XLVIII *q*, at Thorikos, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. XI, 2, at Athens, Gräf, *Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 7, no. 67, and at Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, pl. III, 7.

[3] Compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXVI, 194, 195; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. IX, 12, G 1; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 19, fig. 1.

[4] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 489 ff.

[5] Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 133, figs. 178, 180, 181, p. 143, fig. 199; *B. C. H.*, 1906, pp. 14 ff., figs. 10, 11; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, p. 54, fig. 30.

[6] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 954, p. 165, pl. CLXXIII; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Thongefässe*, pl. XI, 53. Compare also the pattern on the silver ewer from the Fifth Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 855, p. 148, pl. CXXXIV, and the pattern of a Matt-painted fragment from Argos, *B. C. H.*, 1906, p. 28, fig. 52.

[7] Knossos, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 489 (fragment not illustrated); Palaikastro, *B. S. A.*, ix, p. 284, fig. 5. It occurs on a fragment from Phylakopi, *B. S. A.*, xvii, pl. XI, 163.

[8] Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, pls. XLVIII *e*, *f*, L *b*, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 753; Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 48, 49, figs. 64, 65; Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 222, fig. 25, pls. VII, 1, IX, 2, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 200, fig. 144 (3), p. 203, fig. 147; Vaphio, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. VII, 19, p. 154 (only one example); Kakovatos, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pl. XVIII, 1; Athens, Gräf, *op. cit.*, nos. 40, 60; Eleusis, Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 121, fig. 99 (7). It is also known at Ialyssos, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Arch. di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 186, fig. 109, a late version much influenced by the trifoliate pendant design, see p. 73.

[9] *J. H. S.*, 1903, pl. IV, 1–5, pp. 160, 181; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, 592; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pp. 23 ff., figs. 13, 14; Seager, *Pseira*, pp. 21 ff., fig. 6; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. VII, 2, 28; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 662.

[10] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 39, fig. 53 (3), p. 46, fig. 62 (10), pl. IV, 6; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XLVIII *bb*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 756.

tangential lines,[1] above and below which are dots or loops. The eyes of the spirals and the tangents are often picked out with matt white, which is sometimes added to the horizontal lines above and below the spirals. Other versions are Tomb 516, no. 10, Tomb 517, no. 12, Tomb 518, nos. 34, 35 (pls. XXXIII, XLI).

Wave Pattern. This is usually a complement to the ogival canopy pattern,[2] but does occur by itself, especially on alabastra, for which it becomes the favourite design in L.H. II.[3] Typical examples are Tomb 517, no. 15 (pl. XXXIV), Tomb 518, nos. 17–20 (pls. XXXIX, XL).

Wavy Lines. This pattern, which may be related to the rippled or grained ornament,[4] is certainly used in L.H. I on the Mainland,[5] and appears here on three vases, Tomb 517, nos. 14, 15 (pl. XXXIV), Tomb 518, no. 19 (pl. XXXIX).

Wheel Pattern. This is the characteristic pattern for the bottoms of alabastra in L.H. I and also in L.H. II,[6] Tomb 517, nos. 13, 14 (pls. XXXIII, XXXIV), Tomb 518, nos. 17, 20 (pl. XL).

Naturalistic: Floral.

Foliate Sprays, conventionalized. These are usual on cups of the Vaphio type, Tomb 518, nos. 34, 35 (pl. XLI), but known on alabastra, Tomb 518, no. 17 (pl. XL), shallow saucers, Tomb 517, nos. 12, 24 (pl. XXXIII), and a goblet, Tomb 517, no. 22. They are common on the Mainland,[7] and well known in Crete[8] from M. M. times.

Ivy-leaf and Sprays. This is a Cretan pattern in L.M. I *a* and L.M. I *b* pottery.[9] It was adopted in L.H. I on the Mainland,[10] and became very popular in L.H. II.[11] It occurs here on three vases, Tomb 516, no. 4, Tomb 518, no. 39, Tomb 533, no. 7 (pl. II). The last shows a transitional form.

[1] See Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 36 ff., figs. 50, 51, 53, 56; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XXIII *a*, *b*, *c*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 759, A 763, p. 131, fig. 174; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 227, fig. 178, p. 230, fig. 23; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 135, fig. 99 (1), p. 155, fig. 116 (4); Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 112 f., figs. 89–91, 118, fig. 96, 119, fig. 97.

[2] See above, p. 153. [3] See below, pp. 157, 160. [4] See p. 153.

[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XXIII *n*. It might be connected also with the pattern on a L.H. I fragment from Mycenae, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XXV, 188, and on two L. H. II amphorae from Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. X, 1, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 155, fig. 116 (3), which is apparently the forerunner of a L.H. III pattern, see below, pp. 167, 174. A similar pattern is known in Crete, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 43, fig. 31, p. 51, fig. 39, Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 46, fig. 60, p. 48, fig. 63, and may go back to M.M. times, compare Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. VI, 38.

[6] See pp. 158, 160; compare *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 142, A 811.

[7] Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, pls. XXIII *i*, *o*, XLVII *l*, *q*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 767 (3), fig. 174; Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 227, fig. 17 *e*, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 135, fig. 99; Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 39, fig. 53 (1, 4–6), p. 40, fig. 54, pl. IV, 2, 3; Eleusis, Mylonas, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, fig. 98, 121, fig. 99 (10 13).

[8] Knossos, *J. H. S.*, 1903, p. 178, fig. 5; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 572; Gournia, Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pls. VII, 8, 22, 26, 29, 30, 32, VIII, 31; Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pl. XVI *a*, *c*, *d*, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 683, fig. 138, p. 109.

[9] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 484 ff. [10] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 39, figs. 52 (3), 53 (10).

[11] As on the Kakovatos amphorae, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pls. VIII, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, and the vases from Pagasae, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1889, pls. IX, X.

Plants with pear-shaped leaves cross-hatched, or belts of similar but separate leaves, Tomb 516, no. 2 (pl. XXXIII), Tomb 518, no. 4 (pl. XXXIX). This pattern is fairly common on the Mainland in L.H. I and is said to be rare in Crete.[1] Perhaps its origin may be found in Middle Helladic Matt-painted wares where cross-hatching often occurs.[2]

Waving Grass. This is a Cretan pattern well known in M.M. III and L.M. I pottery.[3] It is rare on the Mainland[4] and occurs here only on one vase, Tomb 518, no. 1 (pl. III).

In the L.H. I vases it will be noted that vases with wide openings are merely slipped on the inside and not painted. Attention has been called above and below to examples which are painted on the inside in the Cretan manner, for in Crete almost all vessels with a wide opening of this period are painted on the inside.[5] It is, however, very unusual on the Mainland to decorate vessels with wide openings on the inside as well as on the outside. A few so decorated have been noted above,[6] but it will be seen that they are mostly shallow saucers.[7]

B. Unpainted Slipped Ware.

Technique.

This in fabric is similar to the decorated ware, but the surface being left unpainted is finished with a fine smooth slip, usually greenish-yellow or yellowish-buff in colour. This is really a refined variety of Yellow Minyan Ware which continues through the Late Helladic period, and in L.H. I and L.H. II is even finer and thinner than before.

Shapes.

Only two shapes were found represented in these tombs.

Drinking Vessels: Goblet. This is the ordinary Yellow Minyan goblet,[8] but with a better biscuit and finer surface. Only three examples were found, all from

[1] The best examples are a vase from the First Shaft Grave (Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 196, p. 67 pl. CLXVII), and an amphora from Tomb A at Kakovatos (K. Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pp. 313 ff., pl. XXIII, 1). Other parallels are given by K. Müller (*loc. cit.*); compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XXIII *f*, pl. XLVIII *z*, *aa*, *cc*.

[2] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 20, fig. 27, p. 27, fig. 37; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pl. XIII, p. 147, fig. 201.

[3] Zakro, *J. H. S.*, 1903, p. 253, fig. 17; Pseira, Seager, *Pseira*, p. 31, fig. 14; Gournia, Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pls. K, VII, 11, 12, 24, 31, 39; Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pl. XIII *a*; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, pp. 278, 279, figs. 186, 187.

[4] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. XIX, 135.

[5] *J. H. S.*, 1903, pp. 251 ff.

[6] Tomb 517, nos. 15, 24, Tomb 518, nos. 36, 38, 39.

[7] See other examples from Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 156, 158, 159, pls. XXIII *m*, XLVII *w*, LII *b*.

[8] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 43, fig. 58; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 163 ff.; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς p. 76, fig. 51, p. 108 f., fig. 85.

Tomb 517, nos. 16, 17, and 26. The two complete examples (pl. XXXIV) have short stems and one high swung ribbon handle.[1] The profile of the lips is distinctly metallic. All three were covered inside with black glaze paint in the Cretan manner.

Pouring Vessels: Jug with horizontal lip. Two examples were found, Tomb 517, nos. 20 (pl. XXXIV), 25. There is a plastic ring at the base of the neck.

LATE HELLADIC II

A. Decorated Pottery.

Technique.

Technically the pottery of this period is to all intents almost identical with that of Late Helladic I so far as slip, clay, and paint are concerned. The vases perhaps are generally speaking better fired, the slip is smoother, and the patterns, especially horizontal bands, more carefully drawn.

Shapes.

Most of the shapes common in L.H. I continued in use, and this period should rather be regarded as a developed phase of L.H. I than as a new period separated by an easily recognizable change in style or fashion. Still changes of shapes do take place, and some forms which became common in L.H. III make their first appearance. The principal shapes are:

Drinking Vessels: Cup, tea-cup type,[2] Tomb 517, nos. 8 and 18 (pl. XXXIV). Of the former only one fragment was found. This shape begins to lose popularity in this period. The similar vase from Knossos in the British Museum is probably an import from the Mainland into Crete.[3]

Cup, Vaphio type.[4] Tomb 532, no. 7, Tomb 533, no. 1 (pls. LIV, LVI). The popularity of this remains unbroken. Cups of this period differ from those of the preceding in their patterns, rather than in their shapes.

Deep Cup. Only one was found, Tomb 532, no. 6 (pl. LIII). It is covered inside with black glaze paint in the Cretan manner, and is distinctly metallic in character.

Saucer, shallow.[5] This continues to be popular, and four examples were found, Tomb 517, no. 28, Tomb 518, no. 40, Tomb 529, nos. 5, 6 (pls. I, II). The metallic character of the shape is still marked, and the main difference between examples of this period and the preceding lies in the patterns decorating them.

[1] Compare Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 229, fig. 21, which is probably not earlier than L.H. II.

[2] See above, p. 148. An interesting variety is shown by those from Palaiochori (Kynouria), Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 19, figs. 1, 3.

[3] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, I, 1, A 634. It closely resembles a vase from Tomb 1 at the Argive Heraion, Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, p. 95, fig. 32, no. 20.

[4] See above, p. 148.

[5] See above, p. 149; compare Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 19, fig. 3.

Pouring Vessels: Jar, hole-mouthed.[1] This Cretan shape is very rare in this period and seems to die out. Only one specimen was found in Tomb 532, no. 8 (pl. VI), which is taller and proportionately more slender than the usual form of L.H. I: compare Tomb 518, no. 4 (pl. XXXIX). The beak also is more pronounced.

Jug, with beaked spout, one example from Tomb 518, no. 2 (pl. III), which is distinctly metallic in shape and in decoration. The form is somewhat unusual from the shape of the spout and handle and unsplayed base, for which there seems to be no good parallel.

Jug, with bridged spout.[2] Four fragments, which seem to belong to a vase of this shape, come from Tomb 517, no. 31. The pattern of pendent trifoliates[3] occurs on L.H. II vases of the so-called Palace Style.

Jug, with horizontal lip and narrow neck, one example from Tomb 518, no. 3 (pl. XXXIX), with decoration in the so-called Palace Style. This is an early L.H. II vase corresponding in date to the Cretan L.M. I *b*. The shape is metallic, as proved by the studs at the upper end of the handle, and is that of the Marseilles ewer and two fine examples from Palaikastro.[4]

Jug, squat.[5] There is one example of this period from Tomb 532, no. 1 (pl. LIII). It is not of particularly good fabric, and the pattern is distinctly sketchy. The jug of similar shape from Tomb 518, no. 8 (pl. XLII), classed above as L.H. I, might be considered early L.H. II.

Storage Vessels: Alabastron (Squat Bowl). This is perhaps the most popular shape[6] of this period, especially in tombs, for no less than thirty-two were found,[7] Tomb 515, nos. 2–9, Tomb 516, fragments of one in the dromos (p. 66), Tomb 517, nos. 5, 7, 19 (the first are only fragments), Tomb 518, nos. 18, 21–30, Tomb 529, nos. 7–12, Tomb 530, nos. 3, 4, Tomb 532, no. 2 (pls. XXVII, XXXIV, XL, XLIII, XXXIX, V, XLVIII, VI, LIV). All except one, Tomb 518, no. 18 (pl. XL), which has vertical sides, are of the type with a curved and rounded profile. The most popular pattern is the wave pattern, Tomb 515, nos. 2–7, Tomb 518, nos. 21–7, Tomb 529, no. 12. The ivy-leaf design in various forms is perhaps the next most popular, Tomb 515, nos. 8, 9, Tomb 518, nos. 28 30, Tomb 529, nos. 7, 8, and floral patterns of several kinds are less common, Tomb 517, no. 19, Tomb 529, nos. 9–11,

[1] See above, p. 149.

[2] See above, p. 149.

[3] See *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. L*a*, p. 314 (A. 1), and the references given there. The Tylissos amphora is illustrated by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 427, fig. 248.

[4] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 508 ff., fig. 312, *a*; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 46, fig. 35, pl. XVIII *b*.

[5] See p. 150. L.H. II examples occur at Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 53, fig. 71; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 123, fig. 101.

[6] See p. 150.

[7] Thirty-nine were found at Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pp. 225 ff., nos. 10–17, figs. 17, 18, pl. VIII, 2; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 135 (5, 6), fig. 99, p. 145 (6–10), fig. 107, pp. 151–2 (1–13), fig. 113, pp. 199–201 (14–24), fig. 144; six were found in Tomb 1 at the Argive Heraion, Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, p. 94, nos. 10, 11, figs. 27, 28. Compare Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, pp. 124 ff.; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 19, figs. 2–5, X, Παράρτημα, p. 42, fig. 2.

Tomb 530, no. 3, Tomb 532, no. 2. The alabastron with the ivy-design from Tomb 529, no. 7 (pl. v), is perhaps the finest of all.[1] They vary much in size, from a very small example, like Tomb 515, no. 9, to very large ones, like Tomb 529, no. 12 (pls. xxvii, xlviii). The usual pattern on the base is the wheel pattern of the previous period (pls. v, vi, xl, xliii, xlviii), but on seven, Tomb 515, nos. 8, 9, Tomb 517, no. 19, Tomb 518, nos. 27–9, Tomb 532, no. 2, which seem to belong to the later part of the period, the concentric circle pattern, popular in L.H. III (p. 171), appears on the base (pls. xl, xliii, liv). Tomb 518, no. 24 (pl. xliii), which is tall in proportion to its diameter, shows the characteristic L.H. III shape,[2] but it has the L.H. II wave pattern and the wheel pattern on the base, and so may be dated to the end of this period or to the transition between it and L.H. III.

Amphora, with three handles. This type has many varieties, ranging from the large vessels of the Palace Style, here represented by two examples, Tomb 518, no. 15,[3] and Tomb 529, no. 21[4] (pls. v, l), through a shorter type with a more rounded body of which one certain example was found, Tomb 518, no. 16[5] (pl. xli) (fragments possibly from another were found in the chamber of Tomb 516, see p. 67), to a shorter, rather squat type represented by two vases, Tomb 529, nos. 2,[6] 3 (pls. iv, li). Tomb 515, no. 1[7] (pl. xxviii), appears to be a reduced version of the larger shape usually found in large Palace Style examples, as Tomb 518, no. 15, Tomb 529, no. 21. Amphorae of these types in somewhat modified but more stereotyped shape became extremely popular in L.H. III.

Jar, with two handles and oval mouth, Tomb 518, no. 5 (pl. xlii). As already noted,[8] this has two parallels in the second Tholos Tomb at Kakovatos. This shape is well known in Crete[9] from M.M. times and occurs at Phylakopi.[10] This vase is one of a group from Tomb 518, nos. 5, 7, 8, 9 (pl. xlii), which is peculiar in fabric, that is in clay, slip, and paint. They hardly appear to be of local Mycenaean or Argive style. The character of the clay and of the decoration suggests at least Cycladic influence. This might perhaps be classed as L.H. I, like Tomb 518, nos. 7, 9 (pp. 150, 152).

Miscellaneous: Askos. One example was found with a round body and a tubular

[1] This resembles the alabastron from Markopoulo in Attica (not Mycenae as stated) in the British Museum, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 781.

[2] See pp. 102, 171.

[3] This resembles a vase from Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 202, fig. 146.

[4] This also resembles a vase from Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 142, fig. 104.

[5] This also resembles a vase from Thebes, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. vii, 1; compare also Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 203, fig. 147.

[6] This resembles a vase from Eleusis, Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 129, fig. 108.

[7] This also resembles a vase from Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 199, fig. 148 (4).

[8] p. 79.

[9] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 588–A 590; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 555, fig. 403, a, c, p. 557, fig. 404 *b*, *g*, p. 569, fig. 414, p. 606, fig. 446, pl. vii; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 60, fig. 48, p. 64.

[10] *Phylakopi*, p. 136, no. 14, pl. xxvii, 2.

spout, Tomb 529, no. 4 (pl. XLVIII). The shape, although it occurs in the M.H. period,[1] is not common in L.H. II,[2] but is more popular in L.H. III.

Rhyton, ovoid. One was found which can be assigned to this period, Tomb 518, no. 32 (pl. I). It has the true ovoid shape, but is perhaps not so graceful as the beautiful L.H. I example from Tomb 517, no. 10 (pl. I), and its stippled pattern, though known on the Mainland in L.H. I, is commoner in L.H. II. It shows all the marks of the derivation of the shape from the actual ostrich egg, and the stippled colour may perhaps be intended to suggest the marking of the egg. The type has been fully discussed by Evans.[3]

Patterns.

In this period the patterns in use may be divided into two groups.

The first comprises the linear and geometric patterns, which continue without much change from L.H. I, but are less prominent.

The second group consists of the naturalistic designs, which include both floral and marine motives. The only other pattern possibly derived from nature is the frieze of cat-like creatures on a vase from Tomb 532, no. 1 (pl. LIII).

The naturalistic patterns, which begin before the end of L.H. I, reach full maturity in L.H. II, but become florid and overblown by the end of the period. This is specially true of the designs on the large three-handled amphorae of the so-called Palace Style.

Linear and Geometric.

Arcade Pattern. This motive, copied from metal work,[4] occurs on jugs from Tomb 518, nos. 2, 3 (pls. III, XXXIX).

Cable Pattern. This occurs once on the rim of Tomb 518, no. 15 (pl. V).

Concentric Circles. These begin to be used to decorate the bases of alabastra, for which they become the favourite motive in L.H. III.[5]

Dots. These sometimes, though not here, appear in the form of dotted grounds, but usually in lines or groups subsidiary to other patterns, such as the wave pattern, see Tomb 515, nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, Tomb 518, nos. 16, 18, 21–7, Tomb 529, nos. 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, Tomb 532, no. 8 (pls. XXVII, XLI, XL, XLIII, IV, LI, V, XLVIII, VI).

Net Design. This increases in popularity,[6] but does not become common till L.H. III. It occurs in two vases, Tomb 515, no. 1, Tomb 529, no. 3 (pls. XXVIII, LI).

Ogival Canopy.[7] This is still fairly popular. The ground often contains filling ornaments and it occurs as a complement to the wave pattern, Tomb 518, no. 16 (pl. XLI), Tomb 516 (p. 67).

[1] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 163, no. 944, pl. CLXXIII; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 160, fig. 223. Askoi are common in E.H. ware, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 7, *Zygouries*, p. 94, 6.

[2] See *Phylakopi*, pp. 135, 136, fig. 109.

[3] *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 224–5, fig. 129.

[4] See Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 220, p. 70, pls. LXXII, CLXX, no. 442, p. 103, pls. CVII, CVIII, nos. 627, 628, p. 122, pls. CXXIII, CXXIV, no. 756, p. 137, pl. CXXIII, no. 912, p. 161, fig. 78.

[5] See pp. 102, 158, 171.

[6] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 47, fig. 63 (11).

[7] See p. 153.

Quirks. A chevron-like ornament composed of three parallel crooked lines is used as a complementary ornament in L.H. II, usually on vases of the Palace Style,[1] Tomb 518, no. 15, Tomb 529, no. 2 (pls. v, iv). They have considerable resemblance to the roots of the palms.[2]

Spirals and Spiraliform Designs.[3] These continue from L.H. I, but are rather more carelessly drawn and the connecting tangents and loops disappear, Tomb 518, nos. 5, 8 (pl. xlii). The base of Tomb 532, no. 7 (pl. liv), has a simple spiral.

Stipple Ornament. This is quite popular in this period, and in some cases it is hard to decide whether vases with this ornament, Tomb 517, no. 18, Tomb 518, nos. 32, 40 (pls. xxxiv, i), should be given to L.H. I or L.H. II, but since the pattern continues into L.H. III and is rare on typical L.H. I vases, the benefit of the doubt has been given to L.H. II.[4]

Wave Pattern. This, as has been seen,[5] is the popular pattern for decorating alabastra, but occurs also on other shapes such as saucers, Tomb 515, nos. 2–9, Tomb 517, nos. 8, 15, 19, Tomb 518, nos. 18, 21–7, Tomb 529, nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, Tomb 530, no. 3 (pls. xxvii, xxxiv, xl, xliii, xlviii, ii, v, vi), and it is often combined with the ivy-leaf, Tomb 515, nos. 8, 9, Tomb 529, nos. 5, 7, 8. On other vases it appears with the ogival canopy, Tomb 518, no. 16 (pl. xli).

Wavy Lines. These appear in various forms, Tomb 518, nos. 15, 41 (pls. v, xliv), but are not common.

Wheel Pattern. This is still the favourite motive for decorating the bases of alabastra.[6]

Naturalistic: A. *Floral.*

Floral or Trifoliate Pendants. This attractive pattern occurs here on one vase, Tomb 517, no. 31.[7]

Foliate Sprays, conventionalized.[8] These still appear principally on cups of the Vaphio type,[9] Tomb 532, no. 7 (pl. liv). Derivative forms occur on the necks of Palace

[1] Compare *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pl. xxiv, 7; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 152, fig. 113 (1), p. 202, fig. 146; Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 49, fig. 65; and the Sakkara alabastron, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 498, fig. 304*f*. The pattern recalls that below the handles of Ephyraean goblets, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 55, fig. 75, which occurs independently on a vase from Tomb 1 at the Argive Heraion, Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, p. 92, no. 3, fig. 21.

[2] See p. 161.

[3] See p. 153 f.; compare Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 45, fig. 61.

[4] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 47. Some of the British Museum pieces, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 757, p. 131, fig. 174, are L.H. II, and others, A. 788, 789, p. 136, fig. 180, are L.H. III, compare *B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 80, pl. xiv, *h*, *i*. The tea-cup from Knossos in the British Museum (*B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 103, fig. 132, A 634) would appear to be an L.H. II import into Crete, compare the tea-cup from the Argive Heraion, Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, p. 95, fig. 32.

[5] See p. 157.

[6] See p. 158.

[7] See p. 72.

[8] See p. 154. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 637 ff., figs. 403, 404, shows the connexion of this motive with metal-work.

[9] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 46, fig. 62 (7, 11, 12).

Style amphorae and jugs, and on alabastra, Tomb 518, nos. 2, 18, Tomb 529, no. 21 (pls. III, XL, L).

Ivy-leaf and Sprays. This is a favourite motive[1] and is often combined with other patterns, especially the wave pattern. It has many forms, Tomb 515, nos. 8, 9, Tomb 517, nos. 5, 28, Tomb 518, nos. 28–30, Tomb 529, nos. 5, 7, 8, Tomb 532, no. 8 (pls. XXVII, XL, XXXIX, II, V, XLVIII, VI), and rather loses its shape towards the end of the period. The 'inlay' pattern on Tomb 518, no. 2 (pl. III), might be considered a variant of this pattern.

Lily and Papyrus Flowers. These are common motives,[2] and though they are often quite distinct, yet in more conventionalized or more florid versions they are not so easy to differentiate, Tomb 515, no. 16, Tomb 517, no. 19, Tomb 518, no. 3, Tomb 532, no. 2 (pls. XXVIII, XXXIV, XXXIX, LIV). They may be combined with the ivy-leaf or with the palm. A bud-like motive, which appears to be a confusion between the palm and the 'lily', springs from the ivy on two vases from Tomb 529, nos. 5 and 7 (pls. II, V), which are so similar in style that they appear to be by the same hand, and occurs also on a fragmentary cup of the Vaphio type from Tomb 533, no. 1 (pl. LVI).

Palms. These are favourite motives for amphorae of the Palace Style, but occur also on smaller vases, such as alabastra, Tomb 518, no. 15, Tomb 529, nos. 2, 9–11, Tomb 530, no. 3 (pls. V, IV, XLVIII, VI). The pattern has been discussed by Evans,[3] who traces it back to M.M. II times, but it does not occurs on the Mainland before L.H. II.[4]

Rosettes. These play a great part either as major or minor elements in a design, Tomb 518, nos. 2, 3, Tomb 530, no. 3 (pls. III, XXXIX, VI).[5]

Naturalistic: B. *Marine.*

Marine Motives. Not many of these[6] are found on the Kalkani vases, but the argonauts on Tomb 529, no. 4 (pl. XLVIII), and the octopuses on Tomb 529, no. 21 (pl. L), are particularly fine examples, especially the latter, which are better than those on a similar vase from Thebes.[7] Subsidiary motives, the sea anemone and the coral pattern, appear on the octopus vase and also on Tomb 518, no. 2 (pl. III).

[1] See above, p. 154, and Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 46, fig. 62 (3), p. 50, fig. 66, p. 52, fig. 70, p. 53, fig. 71; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 143, fig. 105, p. 152, fig. 113 (4), p. 200, fig. 144 (1, 4), p. 201, fig. 145, ix, Παράρτημα, p. 19, fig. 3, x, Παράρτημα, p. 42, fig. 2; Persson, *Asine*, p. 138, fig. 87; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XLIX; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 137, fig. 129 (6, 7); Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 91, fig. 77; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, pp. 125, figs. 104, 105, 126, fig. 106, 129, fig. 108.

[2] Compare Blegen, *Korakou*, pls. VI, 4, VII; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 156, fig. 117; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pl. XX; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. LI; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 137, fig. 129 (8); Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, p. 94, no. 10, fig. 27.

[3] *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 493 ff.

[4] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 47, fig. 63 (3), p. 55, fig. 75, pl. VII; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 144, fig. 106, p. 202, fig. 146; Persson, *Asine*, pp. 138 ff., figs. 87, 88, p. 116, fig. 69; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, pls. XXI, XXII; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pls. XLV, XLIX, LI; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXV, 189, 190; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 137, fig. 129 (3); Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 129, fig. 108; Gräf, *op. cit.*, no. 58.

[5] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. LII *b*.

[6] They are discussed by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 507 ff.

[7] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 142, fig. 104.

In this period some vases are to be found which are decorated within, Tomb 517, no. 15 (pl. XXXIV), or else covered inside with black or brown glaze paint, Tomb 532, no. 6 (pl. LIII), but this Cretan fashion is rare.

In a few vases what can be called a reserved technique is to be seen. The patterns are not painted in a dark colour on the light ground, but the ground is covered with paint and the pattern is reserved in it. This is often found in the coral pattern on the necks or lips of vases of the Palace Style and occurs on the octopus vase from Tomb 529, no. 21 (pl. L), and the beaked jug from Tomb 518, no. 2 (pl. III).

B. Monochrome Painted Ware.

Technique.

This technically does not differ from the decorated ware except that it is covered all over with blackish or red-brown glaze paint. The quality of the paint and its lustre seem to depend on the firing. If fired under reducing conditions the paint is black and is rather apt to wear off.

Shapes.

These correspond more or less to those of the decorated ware. In these tombs the following shapes of this class were recognized as being probably of L.H. II date because of the vases associated with them.

Drinking Vessels: Saucer, shallow,[1] one, Tomb 532, no. 16. Except for its obvious metallic shape this vase might be classed as early L.H. III.

Pouring Vessels: Feeding Bottle. This is a convenient name for this shape which becomes common in L.H. III.[2] Examples as early as L.H. II are scarce,[3] though a possible prototype is known in Mattpainted M.H. Ware.[4] One example occurred in Tomb 532, no. 13 (pl. LIV). Another in this style from Tomb 518, no. 43 (pl. XLIII), from its refined shape seems to be L.H. III in date.[5] The shape seems to be characteristic of the Mainland, as it is distinctly rare in Crete.[6]

Storage Vessels: Bowl, deep, short stem, one horizontal loop handle, one specimen, Tomb 518, no. 12 (pl. XLIII). This is covered inside with black glaze paint in the Cretan manner. This shape, except for the fact that it has only one handle, might be considered as an early example of the common deep bowl of L.H. III.[7]

[1] A L.H. II example was found at Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 53, fig. 72.

[2] See p. 167.

[3] Compare Mylonas, Προϊστορική Ἐλευσίς, p. 129, fig. 108.

[4] Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 157, fig. 218. A somewhat similar shape occurs in Early Helladic ware at Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 104, fig. 89, p. 123, fig. 115.

[5] See p. 181.

[6] See below, p. 167.

[7] See Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 48, 49, figs. 64, 65, p. 62, and below, p. 172.

C. Unpainted Slipped Ware.

Technique.

Technically this is the same as the corresponding ware of L.H. I, and it thus continues unbroken the Yellow Minyan tradition, and is important as showing the persistence of the latent Middle Helladic strain.

Shapes.

These hardly differ from those of the preceding period. In these tombs the following occur:

Drinking Vessels: Goblet. This is the typical Yellow Minyan goblet[1] on a shortish stem and has a distinctly metallic profile, Tomb 515, no. 73, Tomb 517, no. 27, Tomb 518, no. 11, Tomb 532, nos. 3–5 (pls. XLII, LIII, LV). Of these, only one, Tomb 532, no. 3, is painted inside in the Cretan manner, but the other two examples from the same tomb are represented by the foot and stem only. There were also two fragments in the dromos of Tomb 531 (p. 44).

Pouring Vessels: Jug, with horizontal lip, one example from Tomb 518, no. 10 (pl. XLII). This resembles the similar jugs of L.H. I,[2] and can be compared with others[3] which probably date from L.H. III, two of which, Tomb 524, no. 11, and Tomb 533, no. 15 (pl. LVII), are of much the same quality as this specimen.

Miscellaneous Vessels: Askos. A round-bodied askos[4] with a barrel spout from Tomb 515, no. 10 (pl. XXVII), may perhaps be included in this class, though it has neither the smooth slip nor the refinement of the average Yellow Minyan Ware.

D. Unpainted Unslipped Coarse Ware.

Technique.

This class contains vases of a strictly utilitarian or domestic character. The clay is unslipped and the vases on the whole are roughly made.

Shapes.

The four principal shapes in these tombs are:

Drinking Vessels: Deep Cup, one, Tomb 518, no. 44 (pl. XLII); this has a small spout in the rim opposite the handle and has an archaic appearance. The clay is full of specks of mica, a feature foreign to Argive clay. This might be taken as supporting the suggestion of Cycladic or other external influence in the group of painted vases discussed above, Tomb 518, nos. 5, 7, 8, 9.[5]

[1] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 18, p. 43, fig. 58, pp. 57 ff., fig. 78.
[2] See p. 156.
[3] See below, p. 183.
[4] Compare Mylonas, Προϊστορική Ἐλευσίς, p. 130, fig. 109, no. 378.
[5] See pp. 80, 150, 152, 158.

Handleless Cup, two examples, Tomb 517, no. 21, Tomb 518, no. 14 (pls. XXXIV, XLIII). This shape occurs in L.H. I and II and is also known in L.H. III.[1]

Miscellaneous Vessels: Ladle or Scoop, with long handles, probably like the more elaborate L.H. I example, Tomb 518, no. 45 (pl. XLV), used for carrying charcoal in fumigating the tombs. Three were found, Tomb 515, nos. 12, 13, Tomb 518, no. 13 (pls. XXVII, XLIII). The handles bend downwards to protect the hand from the glowing coals.[2]

Lamp. Four were found, Tomb 518, nos. 46–8, and Tomb 530, no. 5 (pl. XLIII). Each had two wicks and a low base. To judge by the knob under the rim the lamps were made so as to be moved when lighted. In the shallow basins water would be placed on which would float a layer of oil to feed the wicks. Two, Tomb 518, nos. 46, 47, are distinctly better made than the others. The type generally is similar to that of the well-known stone lamps.[3] Clay lamps like these were found at Phylakopi, Gournia, and Palaikastro.[4]

LATE HELLADIC III

This period covers between two and three hundred years, whereas each of the two preceding periods, L.H. I and L.H. II, occupies only one hundred years. Consequently it is not surprising that the vases of this period should be more numerous, and should at the same time differ more in style from those of L.H. II than L.H. II vases differ from those of L.H. I. Further, one might naturally expect as great a development both in the shapes and in the decoration of the vases of this period as in those of the two preceding periods together. It would be remarkable indeed if in the course of nearly three centuries the pottery of Mycenae, then the seat of powerful monarchs whose influence was widely felt, had not developed or changed in some way. As the palace of Knossos was destroyed about 1400 B.C. at the beginning of this period, it is also natural to find that Cretan influence is distinctly recessive, and that the native fashions of the Mainland descended from Middle Helladic times tend to reassert their strength.

[1] See p. 184. See *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 79, 110, 154, 156, 175 ff., 187, 224, 243, 259, 262, but especially pp. 150 ff.; compare Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1909, p. 73, fig. 7 (4).

[2] The type continues into L. H. III; see the examples from the potter's shop at Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 160, fig. 155.

[3] Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, pp. 79 ff., figs. 29, 30; *J. H. S.*, 1904, pl. XIV *a*, *b*; Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pl. XCVIII, p. 150, nos. 15, 16, figs. 126, 127; Seager, *Pseira*, pp. 35, 37 ff., figs. 15A, 17, 19; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pl. XXX F. 3; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. II, 69, 76.

[4] *Phylakopi*, pl. XLI, pp. 209 ff.; Boyd-Hawes, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 68; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *op cit.*, pl. XXVIII K.

A. Decorated Pottery.

Technique.

Technically the pottery of this period is good. It is better made and better fired on the average than the pottery of L.H. I and II. This can be seen by the refinement of the clay, by the thin walls of the vases, and by the fact that in the majority of the vases the clay is of a marked pinkish tone and the paint reddish. There is a much greater number of vases, partly because the period is longer, and partly because more pottery seems to have been made.

Shapes.

In this period the shapes of the vases are more homogeneous, though of course as the period is a long one there is a great number of varieties of shapes in use. In other words, vase-making from an art tends to become an industry.[1] Certain shapes become stereotyped and extremely popular, though naturally the shape changes as the period progresses. Such are the kylix, derived from the Minyan and Yellow Minyan goblets, and the stirrup vase, a Cretan shape first introduced at the very beginning of this period which immediately won great popularity. The shapes found in our tombs may be classified thus:

Drinking Vessels: Cup, bell-shaped,[2] Tomb 524, no. 8 (pl. XXII), Tomb 532, no. 15. This shape[3] probably descends from a type imitating metal cups, and might perhaps be traced back to Mattpainted cups of the M. H. period.[4]

Cup, tea-cup type,[5] Tomb 520, no. 26 (pl. XVII). This is the descendant of the tea-cup of L.H. I and II,[6] and, though the shape has developed, it is interesting to note that the spiral pattern so characteristic of the L.H. I examples still continues, although it also has changed.[7] Tomb 523, no. 5 (pl. XIX), shows the same shape.

[1] Compare, for instance, the potter's shop at Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 30 ff., 143 ff.

[2] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 99.

[3] Compare Thebes, Tomb 2, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 85, fig. 61, *a*, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XX, 144; Aegina, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. 5 (2); Ialyssos, Tomb 38, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 149, fig. 199, A 840, Tomb xxviii, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 156, fig. 81; Enkomi, Tombs 88, 79, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 121, C 626, C 627, figs. 222, 223.

[4] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 25 *b*, p. 24, fig. 34 (2, 6, 11, 14).

[5] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 87.

[6] See pp. 148, 156.

[7] Compare the examples from Cyprus, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 123, nos. C 639, C 640, figs. 229, 230, Myres, *Handbook Cesnola Coll.*, p. 49 f., no. 450; Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, xxv, pl. XIV*f* and Schoenochori, *B.C.H.*, 1923, p. 209, fig. 20. For the shape see *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, nos. C 628–C 657; Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 47, no. 434. It is known at Tell-el-Amarna, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 186, A 994.

Cup, tea-cup type with three handles,[1] Tomb 505 (p. 17), (pl. XVI *d*). This, as noted above,[2] is a particularly well-made example, and since it was associated with other fine L.H. III fragments may be placed at the very beginning of the period. The shape is a variant of the well-known tea-cup type,[3] and is known in Rhodes,[4] but apparently not in Crete.

Kylix. Of this shape,[5] which is descended[6] from the Minyan goblet through the Yellow Minyan[7] and Ephyraean[8] goblets, comparatively few painted examples were found, and of these none was complete. From the dromoi of Tomb 502 (p. 4) and of Tomb 505 (p. 18), (pl. XVI *a–c*, *e*, *f*, fig. 8), came a large number of pieces of good early style,[9] and a considerable number of similar fragments were found in the dromos of Tomb 533, no. 3*a*, and one fragment, also of good style, was in the chamber of Tomb 514, no. 1 (pl. XXXII). The stem of a painted example of the Zygouries[10] style was found in Tomb 517 (p. 69). Fragments of painted kylikes were found in Tomb 522 (p. 34) and in the dromos and doorway of Tomb 531 (p. 44). The circumstances which may account for the presence of the numerous kylix fragments in the dromoi of the tombs have been suggested above,[11] but the great majority of kylix fragments from the tombs have no painted decoration.[12]

Mug. Fragments of this shape, well known in L.H. III pottery,[13] were found in the dromoi of Tomb 526 (p. 92) and of Tomb 531 (p. 44), and in Tomb 533, no. 5, also in the dromos. The shape begins about the end of L.H. II, and many fragments, especially specimens with the stipple ornament, were found below the Ramp House at Mycenae.[14]

[1] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 89. [2] See p. 17 f.

[3] See above, pp. 148, 156.

[4] Ialyssos, Tomb 37, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 151, A 851, pl. XIV, Tomb XXIV, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 147, fig. 67.

[5] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 81–6.

[6] The descent is shown clearly by a fragment from Eutresis which gives the connexion between the plastic rings on the Minyan goblets and the painted rings on the kylix stems, Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 188, fig. 259. See Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 41, 54, 64 ff. It is a metallic shape, see pp. 148, 155, 163.

[7] See Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 18, 43, figs. 58, 59, *Zygouries*, p. 128; Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 135 f., figs. 183, 184, p. 163, p. 169, fig. 238 (1); Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 76, fig. 51.

[8] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 54 f., pls. VI, VII; Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 188, fig. 262; Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 127 f., p. 107, no. 374.

[9] Compare the better and earlier examples from Ialyssos, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 864–A 873, p. 154 f., pl. XIV.

[10] Blegen, *Zygouries*, pls. XVI–XVIII, pp. 143 ff. [11] See pp. 131, 144. [12] See below, p. 181 f.

[13] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XXI, 150 (Nauplia), XLIV, 96; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 131, fig. 52, p. 143, fig. 65 (36), p. 156, fig. 80, p. 212, fig. 135, p. 229, fig. 146 (Ialyssos); *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 136, A 789, A 847, A 848, p. 150, fig. 202, pl. XIII (Mycenae, Ialyssos); *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 48, nos. 9–12 (Rhodes); Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 138, fig. 130, 1 (Zygouries); Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 15, fig. 1, XI, Παράρτημα, pp. 62, 63, figs. 23, 24 (Achaia, Attica); *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 119 f., nos. C 618, C 619, fig. 220, pl. III (Cyprus). The shape is known in metal, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, II, Παράρτημα, pl. 2 (16).

[14] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 80, pl. XIV *h*, *i*.

Pouring Vessels: Feeding Bottle, Tomb 524, no. 5, Tomb 527, no. 17 (pls. XXII, XLVII). This shape[1] was apparently introduced before the end of L.H. II.[2] It is probably derived from a M.H. or even E.H. shape,[3] and is rare in Crete,[4] where it only occurs in L. M. III, but is common on the Mainland[5] and also in Rhodes.[6]

Jug, with beaked spout, Tomb 533, no. 17 (pl. LV). This shape[7] is also known in Rhodes,[8] and may be descended through the Mattpainted M.H. ware[9] from Early Helladic jugs.[10]

Jug, with cutaway neck, Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 523, no. 2 (pl. XX), Tomb 525, no. 1 (pl. XLV), Tomb 533, nos. 18, 19 (pls. LV, LVI). This shape[11] continues a type found in L.H. I and II[12] which is descended from M.H. times.[13] It does not seem to occur in Crete in this period, though known in Rhodes[14] and Cyprus,[15] and it is remarkable that the striped decoration, derived from the grained pattern of L.H. I[16] times, should be so much used for this shape which has distinct metallic reminiscences, shown clearly in the three jugs with this pattern, Tomb 523, no. 2, Tomb 525, no. 1, Tomb 533, no. 19. Another example, Tomb 533, no. 18, with its globular body is obviously descended from the similarly shaped Matt-

[1] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 68.

[2] See p. 162.

[3] See p. 162, note 4.

[4] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 123, fig. 117, 70 *c*; *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 637, fig. 107.

[5] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXIII, 1; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 168, fig. 162, p. 172, fig. 167; *id.*, *Korakou*, p. 67, fig. 97; Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 207, fig. 143; Tsountas, Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις, p. 152, fig. 67; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXI, 154; *B. C. H.*, 1923, p. 214, fig. 26; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, p. 89, fig. 14; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, xi, Παράρτημα, p. 63, fig. 24.

[6] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 170 f., A 933–A 941, figs. 232, 233, pls. X, XIII; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 117, fig. 37, p. 140, fig. 63, p. 177, fig. 102, p. 190, fig. 113, p. 194, fig. 117, p. 249, fig. 153.

[7] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 53; see also Blegen, *Korakou*, pl. V; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. X, 8; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 83, fig. 59, p. 155, fig. 116, 2 (restored), p. 199, fig. 143, 1, xi, Παράρτημα, p. 62, fig. 23; *B. C. H.*, 1923, p. 219, fig. 22.

[8] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 877, p. 157, pl. XII; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 185, fig. 108; *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 44, 3–6, pl. 45, 1–3.

[9] Such as the jug from Drachmani, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1908, p. 87, fig. 13.

[10] Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 84, figs. 71, 72; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 103, 104, 115, figs. 136, 137, 153 (5).

[11] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 59.

[12] See p. 149. Compare the examples from Thebes, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XX, 148, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 155, fig. 116, 3 (incomplete), and the Aliki vase, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 133.

[13] See Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 26, fig. 35, 3, *Zygouries*, p. 130, figs. 122, 125; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 158, fig. 220, 2.

[14] *Annuario di R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 96, fig. 11 (Ialyssos, Tomb IV); *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 876, p. 156 f., fig. 209, pl. XII.

[15] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, C 579, p. 113, pl. III (Maroni, Tomb 5); Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XIII, 89.

[16] See pp. 153, 174.

painted jugs of late M.H. style from the Second and Sixth Shaft Graves,[1] and is a well-known type.[2]

Jug, with horizontal lip,[3] Tomb 519, no. 3, Tomb 521, no. 2, Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 524, nos. 18, 19, Tomb 527, nos. 5, 11, 15, Tomb 529, nos. 17, 19 (pls. XLIV, XIX, XXII, XLVII, XLVIII, LI). This is a popular shape,[4] but except Tomb 527, no. 5, and Tomb 529, no. 17, none is of very good fabric and all seem to be intended for ordinary domestic use. The date of the series is given by the two examples from Tomb 529, nos. 17, 19, which were associated with the later burials in that tomb.[5] Except for the example mentioned from Tomb 527, only one other has anything more in the way of decoration than plain painted bands, and that, Tomb 521, no. 2, is of poor fabric also.

Jug, with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle,[6] Tomb 524, nos. 20, 21 (pl. XXII), Tomb 527, nos. 9, 10 (pls. XLVII, XLVIII), Tomb 533, no. 16 (pl. LVII). This shape differs from the last in that the neck is narrow and has a spreading lip. None is of particularly good fabric, but in only one is the decoration limited to plain bands, Tomb 524, no. 20. The origin of this shape[7] is not clear. It is known in Rhodes[8] and seems also to occur in Crete.[9]

Jug, squat, Tomb 532, no. 12 (pl. LIV). This is not a common shape and is the L.H. III version of the similar jugs of L.H. I and II.[10]

Jug, with stirrup handle, four with double handle, Tomb 513, no. 2, Tomb 518, no. 42, Tomb 521, no. 8, Tomb 532, no. 14 (pls. XXV, XXXII, XLII, XIX, LIII), one with treble handle, Tomb 516, no. 7 (pl. XXXII). These jugs fall into two classes. The first class, Tomb 513, no. 2, Tomb 521, no. 8, have a round spreading lip and the vases are small and of fine fabric. The vases of the second class all have small beaked spouts, and except for the example from Tomb 518, no. 42, are not well

[1] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 68, no. 200, pp. 163 ff., nos. 941, 946, 947, 950, figs. 80, 81, pls. CLXXIII, CLXXIV.

[2] Compare *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 877, 878, pl. XII, p. 157; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 155, fig. 79.

[3] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 19, cf. *ibid.*, 63.

[4] Compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, 112, XVIII, 123 (Spata, Aliki); *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. LXII, 1 *a*; Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 67 (10), fig. 96; *id.*, *Zygouries*, pp. 168, 169, figs. 163, 164; *B. C. H.*, 1923, pp. 208, 218, figs. 18, 30 (Schoenochori); Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924-5, pl. XLII, 2 (Asine); Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. v, 5, 9, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 209, A 1091, pl. XVI (Aegina); *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 45, nos. 6, 7, 8 (Rhodes); *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 122, fig. 41, p. 177, fig. 102, p. 179, fig. 104, p. 183, fig. 107 (Ialyssos); *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, pp. 113 ff., C 580–C 591, figs. 201–5, pl. III (Cyprus).

[5] See p. 101 f.

[6] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 56, 61.

[7] Compare on the Mainland, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 167 (2), p. 170, fig. 166, pl. XIX, 2; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 28, fig. 24 (Thebes); *B. C. H.*, 1923, pp. 208, 213, figs. 19, 25 (Schoenochori); Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. v, 8 (Aegina).

[8] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 879, p. 157, pl. XII.

[9] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XIII, 81, 83.

[10] See pp. 150, 157. The squat jugs from Palaiochori (Kynouria) seem to stand on the border line of L.H. II and III, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 19, figs. 2, 4.

made. The first class, which seems to be allied to the pilgrim bottle,[1] is known on the Mainland,[2] is rare in Crete,[3] and more frequent in Rhodes.[4] The other class is apparently derived from the Cretan jars with pinched mouths and small stirrup handles which date back to Middle Minoan times.[5] It is known in Crete[6] in L. M. III, on the Mainland,[7] and in Rhodes[8] and Cyprus.[9]

Jug, with three handles, Tomb 521, no. 5 (pls. XIX, ~~XX~~), Tomb 527, no. 16 (pl. XLVII). These are alike only in the number of their handles, but both are unusual, the former[10] in its rude fabric, and the latter in its remarkable decoration, which is discussed below.[11] Jugs of L.H. III style similar in form to the latter are known from Rhodes.[12]

Spouted Bowl, shallow, Tomb 530, no. 12 (pl. LII). This shape[13] is a combination of a ladle or dipper and a pouring bowl. Its high-swung handle connects with M.H. pottery.[14] The shape is known on the Mainland[15] and in Rhodes,[16] but seems rare in Crete.[17]

Stirrup-vase. This Cretan shape, which as Evans[18] says arises there in late M. M. III

[1] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 72–4.

[2] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 191, fig. 136 (5) (Thebes); Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, 99 (Nauplia), XX, 145, 149 (Boeotia); Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. v, 3 (Aegina); *B.C.H.*, 1923, p. 203, fig. 13. (Schoenochori).

[3] Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 110, fig. 94.

[4] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 159 f., A 887, 888, fig. 213, pl. XIII; *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 48, 6, 7; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 212, fig. 135, p. 249, fig. 153. It is known in Cyprus, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 110, C 567, fig. 196.

[5] Compare Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 371, fig. 206 *e*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 98, A 589, A 590, fig. 122, pl. VII; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pls. VI, 26, 30, VIII, 1, 2, 6; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 64; see above, p. 158.

[6] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 123, fig. 117, 5 *a*, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 47, fig. 62.

[7] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, 146 (Boeotia); Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pls. XLII, 2, XLV, 2 (Asine).

[8] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 890, p. 160, pl. XIII; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, pp. 131, fig. 52, 155, fig. 79.

[9] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, C 600, p. 116, fig. 207. It occurs at Minet-el-Beida, *Syria*, xiii, pl. II, 2.

[10] Compare Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 66, fig. 27; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 165, fig. 122, 5.

[11] See pp. 176 ff.; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 40; compare *B.C.H.*, 1923, p. 220, fig. 35.

[12] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 157 f., A 880, A 881, fig. 210, pl. XIII; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 130, fig. 51.

[13] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 103.

[14] Compare Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 19, fig. 26; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 139, fig. 187, p. 163, figs. 226, 227.

[15] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 127, fig. 90 (2), p. 149, fig. 110 δ; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. v, 12; Frödin-Persson, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, 1. An example in stone is known at Dendra, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 84, fig. 59, p. 86, and one (also stone) of somewhat different shape from Hagia Triada, *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 718, fig. 20.

[16] *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 97, fig. 13.

[17] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 123, fig. 117, 21 *a*; *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 638, fig. 107; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, vi, p. 156, fig. 3.

[18] *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 120 f.; compare Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. IX, 4, 5, 6; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 381, fig. 213 *b*; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 44, fig. 33, p. 64.

times, seems to have been introduced to the Mainland about the beginning of L.H. III and to have become at once very popular. The great numbers of stirrup-vases found in Egypt and elsewhere round the Eastern Mediterranean are of Mainland fabric, or else from centres like Rhodes which followed the Mainland rather than the Cretan style.[1] The stirrup-vase has two main forms. One is tall and slender, copied from the original Cretan type,[2] and of this only two examples were found, Tomb 523, nos. 1, 6 (pl. XIX), both of good early style.[3] Of the other form, short and globular, which is the characteristic Mainland shape, there are many sub-varieties, for the shape seems to change as the period progresses. The main variety of this form, the true globular shape, seems to be common early in the period as shown by the Tell-el-Amarna pieces,[4] but it seems to have remained in use till comparatively late in the period. Many examples of this shape were found, Tomb 505 (p. 16), Tomb 515, no. 47, Tomb 521, no. 7, Tomb 523, no. 3, Tomb 524, no. 13, Tomb 525, no. 4, and Tomb 529, no. 15 (pls. XXXI, XIX, XXII, XLV, LI), which are good, quite characteristic, and in style compare well with the Tell-el-Amarna pieces, and so may be considered as dating not much later than the middle of the fourteenth century. Other specimens, Tomb 520, no. 20, Tomb 527, nos. 3, 14, Tomb 530, no. 10, Tomb 531, nos. 1–3 (pls. XLVII, LII), though also of good fabric, are probably somewhat later than the first group,[5] and four others, inferior both in fabric and decoration and with higher spouts and handles, Tomb 502, no. 27, Tomb 530, no. 11, Tomb 532, no. 9, Tomb 533, no. 20 (pls. XI, LII, LIII), must be still later, probably of the thirteenth century B.C. A less common variety of this form is Tomb 530, no. 9 (pl. LII), which is of the same good fabric as the earlier examples of this shape, but in its pattern with the decorated belt round the middle of the body it recalls examples from Rhodes[6] or Cyprus[7] rather than from the Mainland,[8] though two vases from Thebes[9] may be compared. The two main later varieties of this form show either a depressed (or squat) shape,[10] Tomb 516, no. 9, Tomb 517, no. 41, Tomb 519, no. 1, Tomb 524, nos. 2, 16, 17 (pls. XXXII, XXXIV, XLIV), or else a less globular and more tapered body, Tomb 515, no. 53, Tomb 527, no. 13 (pls. XXXI, XLVII). The latter variety

[1] Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 111; *Journal Egyptian Archaeology*, xvi, p. 86, note 11, xvii, p. 235.

[2] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 381, fig. 213 *b*, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 120, fig. 114; *B. S. A.*, ix, p. 137, fig. 87 *b*; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. IX, 6.

[3] Compare some of the Ialyssos examples, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 161 f., A 894–A 896, pls. XII, XIII; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 161, fig. 88, p. 212, fig. 135.

[4] See *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 999, p. 187 f., especially fig. 269, 1, and compare the vase, *ibid.*, p. 182, fig. 225, A 986, from a late 18th dynasty house at Gurob.

[5] With these probably belongs an example from Tomb 522 (p. 34).

[6] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 167 f., A 927, A 929, A 930, figs. 227–9, pl. XIII; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 110, fig. 29, p. 161, fig. 88, p. 178, fig. 103.

[7] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 104 f., C 528, C 532, C 537, figs. 183, 185, 186.

[8] Compare, however, the Spata vase, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XVII, 111.

[9] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 191, fig. 136 (1, 4).

[10] Compare the Spata example, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, 113, and one from Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. LXII, 1 *c*.

often has a taller handle and spout. Tomb 529, no. 16 (pl. LI), can probably also be assigned to this last group. These two varieties are probably not earlier than the thirteenth century B.C. and seem to continue through the twelfth century B.C., for the stirrup vases of the Granary Class,[1] like Tomb 502, no. 10 (pl. XI), have tapered bodies and tall handles and spouts, and so have the Salamis[2] vases. The fragments from Tomb 515 (p. 55, note 1) cannot be classified.

Storage Vessels: Alabastron (Squat Bowl). This shape[3] still continues from L.H. I and II times, but there is a marked difference in proportions. As shown by the alabastra[4] from the earlier strata of Tomb 529 and from the L.H. II associations of Tomb 515 (dromos) and Tomb 518, the earlier shape of alabastron with a curved profile has a height equal to about half the diameter of the base. The pattern on the bottom of the base is usually the wheel pattern.[5] In the L.H. III alabastra the height is equal to about three-quarters of the diameter of the base, and the pattern on the bottom of the base almost invariably consists of concentric circles. There is, however, another though less common variety of L.H. III alabastron, in which the height is equal to about a third of the diameter of the base and the handles are very small and atrophied. This variety is represented by two examples from Tomb 530, nos. 7, 8 (pl. LIII). All the other examples, Tomb 520, nos. 6, 22, Tomb 524, no. 22, Tomb 527, no. 4, Tomb 529, nos. 13, 14, Tomb 533, nos. 21, 22 (pls. XVII, XLVII, LI, LVII), belong to the taller variety. On all the examples except Tomb 520, no. 22, and Tomb 524, no. 22, the wave pattern is the usual decoration. The shape is not common in Crete in the L. M. III period, and does not occur in tombs of that date in the Zafer Papoura and Mavro Spelio cemeteries, but is known at Isopata and Phaistos.[6] It is more common on the Mainland[7] in L.H. III and in contemporary finds in Rhodes[8] and Cyprus.[9] The fragment from Tomb 531 (p. 44) cannot be classified.

Amphora, with three handles. This shape,[10] directly continuing the tradition of L.H. I and II,[11] remained very popular throughout L.H. III. Sixteen examples were found, Tomb 502, no. 13, Tomb 513, no. 1, Tomb 519, no. 2, Tomb 520, nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 24, 34, Tomb 524, no. 10, Tomb 525, nos. 2, 7, Tomb 527, no. 12 (pls. XII, XXXII, XLIV, XVI, XVII, XXII, XLV, XLVIII). Though the size naturally varies, there is more uniformity of shape than in L.H. II. Some, especially the

[1] See below, p. 185.
[2] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, pls. v, vi.
[3] See pp. 150, 157.
[4] See p. 101 f. Compare *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 141 f.
[5] See pp. 154, 158.
[6] Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 16, fig. 23, pl. II, p. 20, fig. 30, p. 25, fig. 35; *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 563, fig. 45.
[7] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. IV, 2, 5, 11; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 83 (12); Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XVIII, 129, XX, 147; Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 70 (16); Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 15, fig. 1.
[8] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 142, A 813, A 814, pl. X; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 159, fig. 84; *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 46, 1, 2.
[9] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, p. 98 f., C 493–C 496, figs. 173–5, pl. III; Myres, *Handbook Cesnola Coll.*, p. 49, no. 449.
[10] Furtwänger-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 25.
[11] See pp. 151, 158.

large examples like Tomb 520, no. 16, are wide and round in the body, others, usually smaller specimens like Tomb 527, no. 12, are more slender in proportion to their height. The shape is well known on the Mainland[1] and in islands like Rhodes[2] and Cyprus[3] at this date, but does not seem to occur so often in Crete.[4]

Deep Bowl or Krater. Of this shape,[5] so common in ruins of inhabited sites,[6] only one complete example and a few fragments were found, Tomb 505 (p. 16), Tomb 515 (p. 55, note 1), Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 525, no. 5 (pl. XLV), Tomb 531 (p. 44), Tomb 533, no. 4. Except for one or two of the fragments from Tomb 505, none of the pieces is early.

Miscellaneous Vessels: Askos. Three were found, Tomb 519, no. 4, Tomb 521, no. 4, Tomb 524, no. 4 (pls. XIX, XXII). This shape[7] has a long history, and in one form or another can be traced back to E.H. times.[8] This particular type occurs in a late L.H. II tomb at Korakou,[9] and is common in L.H. III.[10]

Basket-shaped Vase, two examples, Tomb 524, no. 15, Tomb 527, no. 6 (pls. XXII, XXIII, XLVII). Neither example is early, and the shape apparently is not known before this period and seems to be typical of the Mainland.

[1] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, 110, XX, 142, 143; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, p. 122, fig. 15; Παπαβασιλείου, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων*, p. 29, fig. 20, p. 31, fig. 21; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, XXXI, 1, XXXIII, 1; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 107, nos. 54–7, p. 106, figs. 81, 82; Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl. XIX, 1.

[2] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, pp. 144 ff., A 822–A 838, figs. 194, 196, 198, pls. X, XI, XII; *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pls. 39–42, 43, 1–6; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 92, fig. 7, p. 94, fig. 9, p. 108, fig. 26, pp. 114–16, figs. 34–6, p. 131, fig. 52, p. 158, fig. 83, p. 160, fig. 87, p. 189, fig. 112, p. 203, fig. 126, p. 206, fig. 129, pp. 210, 211, figs. 133, 134, p. 213, fig. 136.

[3] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, pp. 88 ff., C 429–C 478, figs. 153–69, pl. III.

[4] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 123, fig. 117, 6 *a*, 12 *a*; *id.*, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 20, figs. 28, 29; *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 559, fig. 42, p. 562, fig. 44.

[5] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. XLIV, 76.

[6] Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 22, fig. 6, p. 33, fig. 9, pls. V, VII *a*, *b*, VIII *a*, *c*, *d*, X *b*, XI *m*, *n*; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVIII, 237, 241, 242, XXXIII, 328; Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 62, p. 60 f., figs. 83, 85, 86; Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 140, fig. 131; Eutresis, Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 188, fig. 260; compare sherds from Mycenae and Tiryns, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, pp. 203 ff., figs. 286–8; the suggestion made, *ibid.*, p. 174, that deep bowls of this shape are derived from the Cretan form of the tea-cup is untenable. Deep bowls also occasionally occur in tombs, Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 191, figs. 136, p. 203, fig. 148; Asine, Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXIII, 1, XLV, 1; Ialyssos, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 954–A 957, p. 174 f., figs. 237, 238, pl. XIV; Kalymnos, *ibid.*, A 1019–A 1021, p. 195 f., figs. 278, 279, pl. XV.

[7] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XLIV, 122.

[8] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 7 f.; *id.*, *Zygouries*, p. 94 f.; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 104; Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 178.

[9] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 53, fig. 73; compare Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 126, fig. 196, no. 370.

[10] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, 109; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XXVII *c*; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 97, fig. 70 *β*; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 172, fig. 169; *B.C.H.*, 1923, p. 200, fig. 9; Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 207, fig. 143; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 138, fig. 60, p. 140, fig. 63, p. 159, fig. 85; *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 46, 10–12; *Hesperia*, i, p. 62 f., no. MP 2, fig. 8 and the references given there, but 'Grave 531' is a misprint for 'Grave 521', and refers to Tomb 521, no. 4.

Duck, model rhyton. Two were found, Tomb 524, nos. 1, 14 (pls. XXII, XXIII). These might also be called a variety of askos and are a combination of vase and terra-cotta figurine.[1] They might thus be considered as belonging to that group of terra-cotta figurines so characteristic of L.H. III times on the Mainland,[2] but unknown in the corresponding period in Crete.

Patterns.

In this period the patterns can still, as in L.H. II, be divided into two main groups, firstly linear and geometric, and secondly naturalistic with floral and marine designs. The latter element, except for the addition of human and animal motives, is recessive. The exuberance of the Palace Style has passed, and there is a general tendency to restraint in design, in composition, and in pattern. As a result the naturalistic patterns are summarized, especially marine motives like the octopus, murex, or argonaut, which are used more for their linear qualities, and the same is true of the floral patterns. The human and animal patterns have the conventional manner of the age, which is best seen in the stiff and stately friezes of the palace frescoes. The marked revival of linear patterns which now takes place, shows that this period inclined to the abstract rather than to the concrete in design. This would appear to be a development and an improvement of the Middle Helladic tradition, and the panel method of composition which marked that age[3] is revived with great success, and employs motives drawn from architectural ornament. Naturally not all these stages are represented in the vases from these tombs, but, with the pottery found in our excavations on the Acropolis in and around the Grave Circle and in the Palace,[4] together with that from Schliemann's excavations published by Furtwängler and Loeschcke,[5] they give an excellent picture of the ceramic art of Mycenae through this period, the last phase of which, represented by the Granary Class, is reserved for separate treatment.[6]

The following are the principal patterns represented here:

Linear and Geometric.

'*Butterfly.*' What is perhaps the conventional linear version of this pattern occurs once, Tomb 523, no. 3 (pl. XIX). It is well known at Mycenae[7] and occurs at Tell-

[1] Compare the vase from Ialyssos, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 173, fig. 100.

[2] Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, p. 49.

[3] Compare Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 107.

[4] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 20 ff., figs. 6–9, 11, 12, p. 151, fig. 33, pls. V–XI, XIV, XXXI.

[5] *Mykenische Vasen*, pls. XXV–XLIII. See also the pieces given by the Greek Government to the British Museum, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, pp. 201 ff., A 1057–A 1084.

[6] See pp. 184 ff.

[7] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pls. IX, 38, XIII, 62; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 1069, 6; compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXI, 154, from Tiryns.

el-Amarna.[1] It may be a simplification of the double-axe pattern,[2] a name which Evans[3] has applied also to the Middle Bronze Age 'butterfly' pattern.[4]

Chevrons and Chevron-like Designs. These which occur on the Tell-el-Amarna pieces[5] are popular;[6] Tomb 502 (p. 5), Tomb 514, no. 1, Tomb 517, no. 41, Tomb 520, nos. 20, 24, Tomb 521, nos. 7, 8, Tomb 523, nos. 1, 6, Tomb 524, nos. 17, 22, Tomb 525, no. 4, Tomb 529, no. 15, Tomb 530, nos. 10, 11, Tomb 531, no. 1, Tomb 532, no. 14 (pls. XXXII, XXXIV, XVII, XIX, XLV, LI, LII, LIII). Two fragments from Tomb 505 (p. 17, fig. 8 *h*, *k*, pl. XVI *c*) have chevron-like elements in their designs which seem, however, to be linear versions of marine patterns.[7]

Circles. These occur once, Tomb 533, no. 16 (pl. LVII).

Concentric Circles. These are the usual decoration for the bases of alabastra[8] and on pilgrim bottles.[9] They appear on a fragment from Tomb 522 (p. 34).

Crescents. These[10] occur twice, Tomb 527, no. 14, Tomb 530, no. 9 (pls. XLVII, LII).

Diamonds. This pattern[11] occurs on Tomb 502, no. 13, Tomb 527, nos. 10, 13 (pls. XII, XLVII, XLVIII).

Grained Pattern. This may be connected with the ripple ornament of L.H. I and II,[12] but more probably is derived from a grained pattern known in L. M. I pottery in Crete.[13] It occurs in Rhodes, Cyprus, and on the Mainland in this period,[14] and was often used for large jugs of metallic shape with cutaway necks, Tomb 523, no. 2, Tomb 525, no. 1, Tomb 533, no. 19 (pls. XX, XLV, LVI).

Lines or Dashes in Groups or Belts. These[15] are on Tomb 515, no. 53, Tomb 519,

[1] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 996, 1, 2.

[2] Compare Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 116, fig. 94 (L.H. I) and *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 1075, 10 (L.H. III).

[3] *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 166, fig. 117; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. xxxiv, pl. VII, A 461. In Crete the pattern goes back to E.M. II, Seager, *Mochlos*, pp. 36, fig. 13, ii, 96.

[4] It is known at Drachmani, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1908, p. 87, fig. 13; Eleusis, Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 90, fig. 68 (2, 5; and Eutresis, Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 157, fig. 217.

[5] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 188, fig. 268, 10.

[6] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XV, 96, XXX, 275, 283, 284, XXXIII, 326; Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl. XVI, 2; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 153, fig. 114 (1), p. 191, fig. 136 (2); Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pls. IV, 8, 9, V, 1; *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 22, fig. 6*f*, pl. V *a*; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 125, fig. 38, p. 130, fig. 44, p. 137, fig. 55; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 81, nos. 3–7; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pl. LIII; *B. C. H.*, 1923, p. 200, fig. 8.

[7] Compare the vase from Ialyssos, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 874, pl. XI, and Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl XIX, 2.

[8] p. 171 above. [9] Compare Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XXIX.

[10] Compare on the Mainland, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 140, fig. 131; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XV, 99.

[11] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XXVIII, 239, 240, 246, XXIX, 256, 257, XXXII, 306, XXXIII, 315, 325, XXXIV, 345, XXXV, 357, XXXVIII, 386; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 127, fig. 40, p. 128, fig. 42; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pls. LIII, LIV, LV.

[12] See pp. 153, 167.

[13] Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 51, fig. 39 *b*.

[14] See the examples quoted above, p. 167.

[15] For similar patterns on the Mainland see Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 66, fig. 27; *id.*, *Tiryns*, p. 120, fig. 31; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 192, fig. 137; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 203, fig. 286, p. 205, fig. 288

no. 2, Tomb 520, no. 5, Tomb 525, no. 7, Tomb 527, nos. 16, 17 (pls. XXXI, XLIV, XLV, XLVII).

Net, Chequer, and Hatched Designs. These are popular with a great variety of form,[1] Tomb 513, no. 1, Tomb 520, nos. 4, 8, 34, Tomb 527, no. 12 (pls. XXXII, XLVIII), and several fragments from Tombs 502, 505, and 514 (pp. 5, 18, 49).

Pothooks. These appear[2] on some fragments from Tomb 505 (p. 17, fig. 8 *b*, *c*), on Tomb 502, no. 13[3] (pl. XII), and Tomb 532, no. 15.

Rope Pattern. This[4] occurs once on Tomb 513, no. 2 (pls. XXV, XXXII).

Spirals and Spiraliform Designs. These revive in popularity[5] but in simplified forms. The pattern on Tomb 520, no. 26 (pl. XVII), is descended from the L.H. I spiral pattern[6] as on Tomb 529, no. 1 (pl. I), and like it occurs on the tea-cup type.[7] Other varieties are seen on Tomb 520, nos. 10, 12 (conventionalized argonauts?), Tomb 521, no. 2, Tomb 524, nos. 8, 21, and Tomb 525, no. 5 (pls. XIX, XXII, XLV).

Wave Pattern. This is usual on the bodies of alabastra,[8] Tomb 520, no. 6, Tomb 527,

(A 1073); Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 140, fig. 131; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XV, 102, XVI, 108, XVII, 113, 117, XXXIII, 315–18, 321, 324, XXXIV, 333, 340, 341, XXXV, 357, XXXVI, 370; *B. C. H.*, 1923, p. 206, fig. 16; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pl. LIV.

[1] Compare on the Mainland, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pls. XIII, 63, XV, 75, 78; *id.*, *Tiryns*, pp. 124, figs. 36, 37, 130, figs. 43, 45, 132, fig. 46, pl. XXVII *a*; *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 25, fig. 7 *a*, p. 81, fig. 19 *b*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 202, fig. 285, A 1062 (2), p. 205, fig. 288, A 1080; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 106 f., fig. 82 (57); Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XLI, 1; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XV, 95, XVI, 107, XIX, 136, XX, 146, XXVII, 217, XXXIV, 333; Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 60, fig. 84, p. 62, fig. 86; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 158, fig. 118, ix, Παράρτημα, p. 15, fig. 1; Παπαβασιλείου, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων, p. 27, fig. 18, p. 31, fig. 21; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 187, fig. 258 (3, 5); Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 47, fig. 23 *e*; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pls. LII, LV; *B. C. H.*, 1923, pp. 209, 218, 222, 228, figs. 21, 31, 37, 39.

[2] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXX, 282; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XXII *d*; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 188, fig. 260 (2). It is possible that this pattern is a conventionalization of a foliage design, compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, 143.

[3] This vase much resembles some of those from Rhodes, compare *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 206, fig. 129.

[4] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXXIV, 337, 338, 339, 347; *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 25, fig. 7 *b*, *d*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 204 f., A 1070, fig. 288; Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl. XVI, 1, p. 140, fig. 131; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XXVI *c*; Gräf, *Vasen v. d. Akropolis zu Athen*, figs. 129, 161, 181; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pl. LV.

[5] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, pls. XVII, 115, XIX, 138, XXVII, 220, XXVIII, 241, 242, 244, 245, XXIX, 251–7, 260, 261, XXXII, 302, 305, XXXVI, 369–71, 377, XXXVII; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. V *b*, *d*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 203, A 1063, fig. 288; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 136, fig. 54; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pls. XXXV, 2, XLI, 2, XLV, 1; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 92, fig. 64, p. 107 (56); Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. V, 5; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 165, fig. 122 (5); Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 188, fig. 260 (1, 3); Παπαβασιλείου, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων, p. 35, fig. 25; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pls. LII, LIII; *B. C. H.*, 1923, pp. 210, 220, 222, figs. 22, 33, 37. It occurs at Tell-el-Amarna, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 187, A 997, fig. 267, p. 188, A 998 (11), fig. 268.

[6] See p. 153 f.

[7] See the examples quoted above, p. 154, and compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI, 150, XXXII, 302, 305. The pattern on a cup from Tomb 2 at Thebes (Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 85, fig. 61 *a*) is probably a still more summary version.

[8] See above, p. 157. Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XVIII,

no. 4, Tomb 529, nos. 13, 14, Tomb 530, nos. 7, 8, Tomb 533, nos. 21, 22 (pls. XLVII, LI, LIII, LVII), and except in outline has lost all likeness to rock-work.[1]

Wavy Lines. These are common,[2] Tomb 502 (p. 5), Tomb 513, no. 2, Tomb 519, no. 4, Tomb 520, nos. 9, 14, Tomb 521, no. 4, Tomb 524, nos. 4, 5, 15, Tomb 525, no. 2, Tomb 527, no. 14, Tomb 529, no. 16, Tomb 532, no. 12 (pls. XXV, XXXII, XVI, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XLV, XLVII, LI, LIV). Some varieties seem to copy octopus tentacles.

Zigzag. The pattern on one fragment from Tomb 505 (pl. XVI *e*) is zigzag in form, but is probably a summary version of an architectural motive.[3]

Naturalistic: A. *Floral.*

Lily, Iris, or Papyrus Flowers. These still continue in use in the early part of the period and are found on the Tell-el-Amarna fragments.[4] Here in addition to several pieces from Tombs 502 and 505 (pp. 5, 17, fig. 8 *a*, *e*, *f*, *g*, pl. XVI *f*), they are to be seen on Tomb 515, no. 47, Tomb 516, no. 9, Tomb 518, no. 42, Tomb 520, no. 22, Tomb 524, nos. 2, 13, 16, Tomb 527, no. 3, Tomb 530, no. 9, Tomb 531, nos. 2, 3, Tomb 532, no. 9, and Tomb 533, nos. 18, 20 (pls. XXXI, XXXII, XLII, XVII, XXII, XLVII, LII, LIII, LV). As the period advances there is an increasing tendency to treat them more as abstract patterns than as actual representations of flowers.

Naturalistic: B. *Human and Animal.*

The one example is the remarkable vase from Tomb 521, no. 5 (pls. XVIII, XIX). The composition runs all round the body, but the dancing figure, probably a man, with a large wheel in each hand, is obviously the centre although placed below the handle. The nose and chin are probably intended to be represented

129, XX, 147; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 1061, p. 202, fig. 285; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. IV, 5. The pattern is known on an alabastron fragment from Tell-el-Amarna, Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XXVI, 20 = *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 184, A 991, fig. 260.

[1] Compare *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 134, A 781.

[2] Compare on the Mainland, Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 134, fig. 50; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 140, fig. 131; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. IV, 7; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 127, fig. 90 (1), p. 153, fig. 114 (5). This pattern appears as an element in conventionalized or architectural designs, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XXIX, 255, XXXIII, 317, XXXIV, 340; *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. V *c*, *e*, VIII *a*, p. 357, fig. 76 *a*; Schliemann, *op. cit.*, p. 128, fig. 41; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 203, A 1075, fig. 286. A resolved form is perhaps represented by *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. XIV *b*; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 131.

[3] No other example from the Mainland seems to have been published, but the pattern is known at Ialyssos, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 866, pl. XIV, A 894, pl. XII.

[4] Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pls. XXVII–XXX; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 188, figs. 268, 269. Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XVIII, 122, 124, XIX, 134, XX, 142, 149, XXVII, 215, 216, 221, XXX, 262–72, 276, XXXI, 286, 293, 295; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pl. XIV, 70; *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 22, fig. 6 *a*, p. 25, fig. 7 *c*, *f*, pl. XXXI *k*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 1067 (1), p. 202, fig. 285, A 1085, p. 208, fig. 290; Blegen, *Zygouries*, pl. XVII; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 81 (8), p. 89, fig. 59; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. de Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXIV, 2; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 153, fig. 114 (6), p. 156, fig. 117, p. 191, fig. 136 (1); Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. X, 9, 10, 1910, pl. VI, 3, 4; Παπαβασιλείου, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων, p. 29, fig. 20; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, pl. LIII.

by the two long strokes projecting from the profile of the face, and there is one large eye in the centre of the face. The neck is thick. The body is decorated with wavy lines in the manner of the L.H. III askoi.[1] The arms and legs are represented by single sketched lines. The hair is indicated by a few short lines standing straight out from the head. The fingers and toes are shown summarily by short strokes. Wheels in the form of rosettes often occur as isolated ornaments on L.H. III pottery.[2] Towards this central figure move others from left and right in two registers.

In the upper register two women approach from the left. The first woman is walking. She wears a polos and is wrapt in a close plain garment. The arms and eyes are not indicated, but the toes are, and the two short strokes in front probably represent the nose and chin. Behind her is another woman running from left to right. Her nose and chin are shown by two short lines as on the other figures and there are two small eyes. The arms and legs are rendered in the same manner as those of the man, and the fingers and toes are indicated. Her right hand is stretched backwards and her left arm forwards. The dress has a pattern of wavy lines. Behind this second woman are two more wheels, one large and one small.

In the lower register are animals. Approaching the man holding the wheels from the left is a quadruped with long curling horns and a short stumpy tail. This is probably intended for a goat. Its head is summarily indicated, and between it and the man is something else which has the appearance of a caterpillar.[3] Approaching the man from the right is what appears to be a flying bird, though this identification is not by any means certain. Behind it is a goose, a grey goose to judge by the marking of its body. Its feet and tail are clearly indicated. The goose is walking and the action of its feet is well rendered.

The scene of the man with the two wheels and the two women suggests that they are performing a ritual dance of some kind. It is possible that the vase may have been used for ritual purposes, for two vases of the same shape from Ialyssos[4] with murex decoration have holes in their bottoms and so were probably used as rhytons. In this connexion it should be noted that wheels of this type have been interpreted as representations of the rayed solar disc and therefore as symbols of the sun.[5] It is possible that the man with the two wheels is analogous to that on the Siteia mould[6] whom Evans interprets as a votary holding up a solar disc. This interpretation is by no means certain and the theory that all such wheel-like discs are solar symbols is open to serious doubts.[7] Be this as it may, the scene on

[1] Compare pls. XIX, 4 (Tomb 521), XXII, 4.

[2] Compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXVIII.

[3] Or perhaps a scorpion, compare Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of Mesará*, pl. XIII, no. 1041; Fairbanks, *Boston Museum Cat. Vases*, pl. LVI, no. 531.

[4] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 880, A 881, p. 157 f., pl. XIII, fig. 210.

[5] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 514.

[6] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1900, pl. III.

[7] Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 356 ff.

this vase, unless it is a mere *jeu d'esprit*, apparently has some ritual significance, though the presence of the animals is not easily explained [1]

In character, in its representations of human and animal figures, this vase falls into a well-known class of L.H. III pottery on which such subjects occur.[2] Here the rendering of the figures is perhaps more summary or sketchy than on some of the better known examples from Mycenae or Tiryns,[3] but there is no reason to consider this vase particularly late because of its style, for it was found associated with two vases, Tomb 521, nos. 7 and 8 (pl. XIX), which are both of the Tell-el-Amarna style and date not later than the middle of the fourteenth century. Style is by no means an infallible criterion of date. It should be noted that representations of birds are not uncommon on the later Middle Helladic pottery,[4] and that therefore it is possible that the revival of animal representations in L.H. III pottery is another symptom of the re-emergence of the latent Mainland strain which had been overlaid with Cretan fashions in L.H. I and II. Such human and animal designs seem to be peculiar to the Argolid and to islands like Rhodes and Cyprus [5] which are stylistically dependent on it. In Crete, birds and animals occur on L.M. III vases,[6] but human figures are rare.[7] The goose appears to be a forerunner of some of the birds of the 'close style'.[8]

Rodenwaldt [9] has suggested that this style of vase decoration with human and animal figures is much influenced by the frescoes like those from the megara at Mycenae and Tiryns. That there is a connexion between vase and fresco paintings is extremely probable. The former which recall *longo intervallo* the stelai of the Shaft Graves [10] are perhaps more Mainland in character and are as conventional in treatment as the chariot frieze from Tiryns,[11] but a Cretan tradition

[1] It has been suggested that the vase was made to amuse a child.

[2] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pp. 27 ff., pls. XXXVIII, 390-2, 394-5, XXXIX, XL, XLI, and the Warrior Vase, *ibid.*, pls. XLII, XLIII; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pls. XIV, XV, XVII *b*, XIX *a*, XX *c*, *d*, XXI *a*, *b*, XXII *e*; *B.S.A.*, XXIV, pl. XIV *d*; Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, p. 24, fig. 14; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, pls. X, 9 *a*, 12, 13, XI, 4; Baur, *Cat. R. D. Stoddard Coll.*, p. 39, no. 33, fig. 6.

[3] For instance, Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XV, and Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI.

[4] Compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, i, 5, ix, 44, x, 45, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXIV, 185, 187; *B.S.A.*, XXV, pl. XXX; Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 26, fig. 35 (10), fig. 36 (14); Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 94, fig. 73, no. 221.

[5] Compare *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 110 f., figs. 30, 31, p. 152, fig. 75, p. 227, fig. 144, p. 234, fig. 150; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, nos. C 333–C 427, especially C 340, p. 66, fig. 111, C 370, p. 73, fig. 119; Myres, *Handbook Cesnola Coll.*, p. 48, no. 436.

[6] Hall, *Decorative Art of Crete*, p. 42; Knossos, Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 16, pl. II; Phaistos, *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, pl. XXXVII, 1, 2; Gournia, Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. X, 40, 44; Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pp. 89, 93, figs. 72, 77; Episkope, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, VI, Παράρτημα, p. 158, fig. 5.

[7] Compare the Moulianà vase, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1904, pl. III. and the Milatos larnax, Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 99, fig. 107.

[8] For instance, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXXVIII, 383, 393.

[9] *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, pp. 24 ff., p. 65, *id.*, *Tiryns*, ii, pp. 186 ff.

[10] See *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 138 ff., p. 134 f., figs. 30, 31, pls. XIX–XXI; Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 35, pls. V–X.

[11] Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii, pl. XII.

still lingers in the wall paintings, even though the subjects are of a Mainland type. The great friezes of the palace frescoes were one of the most striking features in L.H. III art, and it is only natural that they should be reflected in lesser arts. There is no doubt that the minor art of decorating pottery was an important factor in preserving the L.H. III tradition of ornamentation. A humble art of this type could still have maintained itself after the frescoed palaces had perished with their princes. Though, as Wide[1] long ago pointed out, there are distinct reminiscences of Mycenaean ornament in Geometric art, yet it is impossible in the absence so far of any definite links to assert that representations of men and animals like this have any connexion with those on Geometric vases.[2]

Naturalistic: C. *Marine.*

These[3] consist of the *Argonaut*,[4] Tomb 505 (p. 18, pl. XVI, *d*), the *Murex*,[5] Tomb 505 (p. 17 f., fig. 8 *d*, *i*, pl. XVI *b*[1], Tomb 519, no. 1, Tomb 520, no. 16, Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 533, no. 17 (pls. XLIV, LV), and the *Octopus*,[6] Tomb 505 (p. 18, pl. XVI, *a*), Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 527, no. 5 (pl. XLVII), which are disposed as patterns to decorate a space[7] and not as pictures of natural objects. In Tomb 520, nos. 9, 14, Tomb 524, no. 5, and Tomb 525, no. 2 (pls. XVI, XXII, XLV), the wavy lines might be derived from octopus tentacles, and in Tomb 520, no. 12, Tomb 527, no. 9 (pl. XLVII), the spirals from argonauts. The crescent-like motives on Tomb 530, no. 9 (pl. LII), may be conventionalized shell fish. Two fragments, Tomb 505 (p. 17, fig. 8, *h*, *k*), show linear versions of marine designs.

One feature to be noted in L.H. III pottery is that the practice of adding details to the design in matt white paint,[8] which is one of the characteristics of

[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1897, pp. 233 ff.

[2] On this see Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile*, and *Ath. Mitt.*, 1918, pp. 1 ff.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, pp. 67 ff.

[3] None of these motives occur at Tell-el-Amarna.

[4] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XXVI, 192, 199; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 351, fig. 146; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. X, 8; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XLI, 2.

[5] Compare on the Mainland, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, 114, XXXI, 297 9; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 138, fig. 213; *id.*, *Tiryns*, pl. XXII *b*; *B.S.A.*, XXV, pl. XXXI *j*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, I, 1, p. 202, A 1065, fig. 285; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 145, figs. 135, 136; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 187, fig. 258 (1), p. 188, fig. 260 (5), p. 189, fig. 263 (5); Ἐχ. Ἀρχ., 1895, pl. X, 11, 1910, p. 204, fig. 9; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, pls. LII, LIV.

[6] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, 110, XXVI, 200, XXVII, 223, XXIX, 255. XXXI, 287 9, 296, 298, XXXVIII, 385; *B.S.A.*, XXV, pl. XIV *e*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, I, 1, p. 202, A 1067 (2), fig. 285, p. 203, A 1066, p. 205, A 1077 (4), fig. 288; Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 61, fig. 85; *id.*, *Zygouries*, pl. XVI, 1, p. 146, fig. 137; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. VI, 4, 5; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXI (2), XLIV; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, pl. LIV.

[7] See especially p. 17, fig. 8 *d*, *i*.

[8] Compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pls. XXXV, 360, XL, 417, 418; *B.S.A.*, XXIV, pl. XIV *d*, XXV, p. 21, fig. 3, p. 43, fig. 11 *a*, pl. XIV *e*; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 139 f., fig. 131; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1910, pl. VI, 3, p. 188, fig. 3. Some at least of the light on dark sherds from Mycenae in the British Museum

L.H. I ware,[1] reappears. It is here seen on one fragment from Tomb 505 (p. 18). In addition to this use of white as a supplementary colour, one occasionally finds a 'light on dark' system of decoration in L.H. III pottery, in which of course the usual system is 'dark on light'. This occurs on some pieces from Tell-el-Amarna,[2] and is therefore not a mark of lateness. In the Kalkani tombs there is an excellent example in Tomb 527, no. 5 (pl. XLVII), a jug on which a conventionalized octopus is painted in white on a ground of thin black glaze paint covering the whole vase.

B. Monochrome Painted Ware.

Technique.

This is the continuation of the similar ware of L.H. I and II.[3] In this period, however, it also is affected by the general technical progress in making and firing pottery which characterizes the L.H. III period. The shapes of the vases are more regular and the coating of glaze paint is more uniform, and in the better examples the firing is so well done that the finished vase has a fine lustrous appearance. The colour varies from a chestnut red to a deep black, and occasionally the colour is mottled.

Shapes.

These naturally do not differ from those of the ordinary painted and unpainted wares of the period, but the number of shapes decorated in this manner is limited. In these tombs the following were found:

Drinking Vessels: Cup, tea-cup type. There are two examples, Tomb 524, nos. 6, 7 (pl. XXII), which show a deep and rather heavy variety of the form.[4]

Goblet. There is one example, Tomb 533, no. 11 (pl. LVII). This form is descended from the Yellow Minyan goblets of L.H. I and II,[5] and since Tomb 533 did contain a little L.H. II pottery might almost be assigned to that period.

Kylix. There is one example, Tomb 521, no. 1.

Shallow Saucer.[6] One specimen was found, Tomb 533, no. 10 (pl. LVII). This is metallic in form, and resembles Tomb 532, no. 16 (pl. LIV), which is more distinctly metallic in character, and has been classed, therefore, as L.H. II,[7] especially on account of the late L.H. II pottery in the same tomb.

should be classed with this variety of L.H. III and not as L.H. I, see *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 128, A 751. The stirrup-vase from Minet-el-Beida (*Syria*, xiii, pl. VII, 1) also belongs to this class.

[1] See above, p. 148.

[2] Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XXVII; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 185, A 993, fig. 262; Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*[2], p. 165, fig. 163. Compare *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 2, C 332.

[3] See p. 162. [4] See pp. 148, 156, 165. [5] See pp. 148, 155, 163.

[6] See pp. 149, 156. [7] See p. 162.

Pouring Vessels: Feeding Bottle.[1] Three were found, Tomb 502, no. 14, Tomb 518, no. 43, Tomb 527, no. 2 (pls. XII, XLIII, XLVII). Of these three, the first two are really excellent examples of this fabric, are well made and have a fine lustrous surface.

Jug, with horizontal lip, two examples, Tomb 516, no. 8, and Tomb 524, no. 9 (pls. XXXII, XXII). These both have narrow necks and slightly splayed lips, and thus differ somewhat from the form more usual in the decorated ware.[2]

Storage Vessels: Deep bowls, with a low base and one or two horizontal loop handles, similar to Tomb 518, no. 12 (pl. XLIII, p. 162). Several fragments painted within and without were found in the dromos of Tomb 505 (p. 16).

C. Unpainted Slipped Ware.

Technique.

This is similar technically to the painted ware, except that it lacks decoration. The colour of the surface varies from yellowish buff to pink. The ware is the direct descendant of the Yellow Minyan tradition which begins in M.H. times, and continues through L.H. I and II.[3] This type of pottery is plentiful both in tombs and in inhabited sites.[4]

Shapes.

These do not differ particularly from those of the painted pottery, but this unpainted ware was probably used freely for domestic purposes. The most popular shapes have several varieties. In these tombs the following occurred:

Drinking Vessels: Cup, bell-shaped.[5] One example, Tomb 520, no. 35, similar to Tomb 524, no. 8 (pl. XXII), was found.

Cup, shallow, skyphos type. Three examples were found, Tomb 523, nos. 7 *a*, 7 *b*, 7 *c* (pl. XX). This shape with the vertical loop-handles rising above the rim and with an angular profile is obviously the descendant of M.H. Minyan bowls or cups.[6]

Cup, tea-cup type.[7] Two examples were found, Tomb 502, no. 20, Tomb 515, no. 50 (pl. XXXI), and a fragment, Tomb 522 (p. 34).

Kylix. These were extremely plentiful,[8] and in addition to the fragments in the

[1] See pp. 162, 167. *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 940, A 941.

[2] See p. 168.

[3] See Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 124.

[4] Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 150, fig. 33; Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 72; Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 151 ff.

[5] See p. 165.

[6] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 15, figs. 18, 19; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 139, fig. 187, p. 163, fig. 227.

[7] See p. 165; compare Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, IX, Παράρτημα, p. 19, figs. 3, 4.

[8] For unpainted kylikes of these types on the Mainland, compare Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. XVIII, 119; Blegen, *Zygouries*, pp. 151 ff., figs. 141–3; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 149, fig. 110 *β*, p. 154, fig. 115 (5), p. 182, fig. 130 (2, 3); Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 67, fig. 96; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1909, p. 73, fig. 7 (6, 8).

dromoi of the tombs as noted (p. 131), compare Tomb 502 (p. 4), Tomb 515 (p. 55, note 1), Tomb 519 (p. 88), Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 523 (p. 35), Tomb 531 (pp. 44, 45), Tomb 533, nos. 3 *b*, 6, many were found both in the dromoi and in the chambers of the tombs which could be put together so that their shapes could be determined. These can be divided into four main groups :—

i. Kylix with tall stem, rounded bowl, and one high swung handle standing well above the rim, Tomb 502, nos. 1, 24, 25, Tomb 530, no. 14 (pls. XII, LII).

ii. Kylix similar to i, but with two high-swung handles, Tomb 502, nos. 17, 26, Tomb 520, nos. 3, 15, 17, 31, 32, Tomb 531, no. 6, Tomb 533, nos. 12, 14 (pls. XII, XVI).

iii. Kylix with short stem, one vertical loop handle just below the rim, and with angular profile, Tomb 502, nos. 2, 15, 16, Tomb 515, no. 52, Tomb 519 (p. 88), Tomb 520, nos. 1, 2, 11, 18, 27, Tomb 530, nos. 6, 15 (pls. XII, XXXI, XVI, LII).

iv. Kylix with tall stem, two vertical loop handles just below the rim and with a more or less rounded body which sometimes approaches an inverted cone in shape, Tomb 515, nos. 11, 48, 49, Tomb 520, no. 28, Tomb 525, nos. 9, 10, Tomb 532, no. 17, Tomb 533, nos. 9, 23 (pls. XXVII, XXXI, XVI).

In these the examples with the high swung[1] handles show the connexion with Minyan and other M.H. wares, and the general appearance of all the varieties shows their descent from grey and yellow Minyan goblets.[2]

Several of these kylikes are covered with a greyish incrustation which certainly seems to be intentional, one example of type ii, Tomb 502, no. 17, one example of type iii, Tomb 515, no. 52, and two examples of type iv, Tomb 515, nos. 48, 49, and a shallow bowl from Tomb 515, no. 51 (pl. XXXI). It possibly is the remains of some unfixed paint or similar substance intended to give these clay vessels the appearance of vases of metal, perhaps silver, or the remains of an adhesive for affixing gold leaf so as to imitate actual gold cups of this shape. If so, these could be regarded as substitutes *in usum mortuorum* of the valuable metal vases. Similarly incrusted vases of the kylix and other shapes have been

[1] Compare Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 15, figs. 18, 19, p. 16, fig. 21, *Zygouries*, p. 126, fig. 118; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 136, fig. 184 (3, 4), p. 139, fig. 187, p. 154, fig. 214, p. 163, fig. 227, p. 169, fig. 239, p. 172.

[2] Stemmed goblets are common on the Mainland in L.H. I, see above, pp. 148 f., 155 f., especially the two from Tomb 517, nos. 16, 17, pl. XXXIV; compare also Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 30, fig. 44, p. 41, fig. 56, p. 42, fig. 57, p. 43, figs. 58, 59, p. 44, fig. 60; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 117. The theory that the L.H. III kylix is derived from Cretan L.M. I tea-cups and deep cups with holes in their bases (*B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 152, and p. 103 f., A 637, A 644) disregards the Mainland evidence. The Ephyraean goblets (Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 54 ff., pls. VI, VII, *Zygouries*, p. 139, pl. XV; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 188 f., fig. 262) begin just before the end of L.H. I, that is towards 1500 B.C., and so they can hardly be imitations of L.M. II Knossian models (Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, p. 49, note 1) for that period does not begin till 1450 B.C. The kylikes with high swung handles from Milatos (Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 96 f., figs. 105 D, 106 M) are of L.M. III *b* date and reflect the influence of the Mainland. According to Evans (*Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 125) kylikes made their first appearance in Crete with L. M. III. They were never popular in Crete. For instance in the hundred tombs at Zafer Papoura only four were found (Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 26, 7 *f*, *g*, p. 72, 66 *h*, *n*).

found at Ialyssos[1] and at Knossos.[2] It seems to be a continuation of a M.M. tradition.[3] The shape as has been indicated above has strong metallic influence.[4]

Pouring Vessels: Jug, with horizontal lip. This is the unpainted version, still preserving the Yellow Minyan tradition of the simple painted jugs of this popular and useful shape decorated with plain bands of colour,[5] Tomb 505 (p. 16), Tomb 521, no. 6, Tomb 523, no. 8, Tomb 524, no. 11, Tomb 525, no. 6, Tomb 527, no. 1. Tomb 529, no. 18, Tomb 533, nos. 15, 24 (pls. XLV, XLVII, LI, LVII). The shape[6] and type are dated, quite apart from the L.H. III associations of the examples from Tombs 523, 525, and 527, by the fact that the example from Tomb 529, no. 18, was found in the upper and later strata of that tomb.

Jug, with horizontal lip and high neck projecting above handle. Two vases from Tomb 532, nos. 18, 19, seem to be like Tomb 533, no. 16 (pl. LVII).

Jug, with stirrup handle. This is the unpainted version of the painted type. Four examples with double stirrup handle were found, Tomb 520, nos. 13, 19, 21, 30, Tomb 525, no. 8 (pls. XVII, XLV). As already noted[7] this is a Cretan shape which, dating from M.M. times, became moderately popular on the Mainland in L.H. III. The stirrup-vase may also have evolved from the same source.

Jug, with three handles. There was only one, Tomb 524, no. 3, of this rare[8] shape, a decorated example of which is Tomb 521, no. 5 (pls. XVIII, XIX).

Storage Vessels: Amphora, with three handles. Four specimens occurred here, Tomb 520, nos. 7, 33, Tomb 523, no. 4, Tomb 530, no. 13 (pls. XVI, XIX, LII). This is simply an unpainted version of the decorated examples.[9] The technique is closely related to that of Yellow Minyan of which it is a continuation.[10]

Amphora, with two handles.[11] This is more of a true amphora shape, for the three-handled amphorae have some of the characteristics of a pithos and have been called by Evans[12] Pithoid Amphorae. In addition to fragments, Tomb 505 (p. 16), two were found, Tomb 525, no. 3, Tomb 529, no. 20 (pls. XLV, LI). In the first the handles do not reach to the lip, but in the second they do.

Shallow bowls with horizontal ribbon handles and rather angular profile. These, Tomb 505 (p. 16), Tomb 515, no. 51, Tomb 520, nos. 23, 29, Tomb 531, no. 4, and some fragments (p. 44) (pls. XXXI, XVII), vary much in fabric and the two from Tomb 520, nos. 23, 29, are rather roughly made. This shape is probably related to some of the Mattpainted or Minyan bowls of M.H. times.[13]

Miscellaneous Vessels: Dipper.[14] One was found, Tomb 515, no. 14 (pl. XXXI).

[1] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, A 850, 863.

[2] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pp. 26, 72, 125. Compare also the terra-cotta ornaments from the Tomb of Genii painted blue to resemble lapis lazuli, *B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 384 f., 4543 *a*, *b*, *c*.

[3] Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, pp. 25–8.

[4] See above, pp. 148 f., 155, 163.

[5] See above, p. 168.

[6] Compare Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 156, fig. 149, p. 170, fig 165, p. 173, fig. 170.

[7] See above, p. 168 f.

[8] Compare Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 173, fig. 170.

[9] See above, p. 171 f.

[10] Compare Miss Goldman's remarks, *Eutresis*, p. 124.

[11] Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 163, fig. 158, p. 170, fig. 166.

[12] *Palace of Minos*, ii, pp. 422 ff.

[13] For instance, Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 133, fig. 181, p. 152, fig. 209.

[14] Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 153 f., fig. 144.

D. Unpainted Unslipped Coarse Ware.

Technique.

This is of rather coarse clay, and somewhat roughly made, is unslipped, and corresponds to the similar ware of L.H. II.[1] It was not common in the tombs.

Shapes.

The following shapes occurred:

Drinking Vessels: Handleless cup. The shape is continued from L.H. I and II.[2] Three examples of this period were found, Tomb 520, no. 25, Tomb 521, no. 3, Tomb 533, no. 13 (pl. LVII), and two fragments from Tomb 531 (p. 44).

Pouring Vessels: Stirrup-vase. A large fragmentary example was found in Tomb 522 (p. 34)

Storage Vessels: Amphora. Two fragments occurred in Tomb 531 (p. 44).

Miscellaneous Vessels: Incense burner.[3] Four were found, Tomb 502, nos. 18, 19 (p. 8, fig. 3), Tomb 532, nos. 10, 11 (pl. LIV). These and the ladles were probably used in fumigating the tombs in the preparations for fresh burials, and these examples come from two tombs which contained the remains of many interments.

Ladle or Scoop. There are four examples, Tomb 515, no. 15, Tomb 529, nos. 22, 23, 24, similar to the L.H. II examples,[4] also from Tomb 515, nos. 12, 13 (pl. XXVII). Such ladles were, as already noted, probably used for carrying glowing charcoal into a tomb to fumigate it when it was being prepared for another interment. These four examples come from tombs which were used for many successive interments.

Larnax. Of these which could be used either as baths[5] or coffins a fragment was found in Tomb 502, no. 27 *a* (p. 9, fig. 4). Coffins are excessively rare on the Mainland and only four are known,[6] and of the four this and the Theban example cannot be proved to have been used as coffins.

E. The Granary Class.

In the excavations on the Acropolis of Mycenae, especially in the Granary and in the strata of the section between it and the Lion Gate, we were able to separate out a class of pottery as showing the latest phase of the L.H. III style.[7]

[1] See p. 163 f. [2] See p. 164.

[3] These are different in type from those from Ialyssos, *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, pp. 139 ff., A 801–11; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 191, fig. 114, p. 245; *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 47, 8–11.

[4] See p. 164 above and the parallels there cited.

[5] A plain bath was found at Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 142, fig. 134, and a fragment of a painted one at Tiryns, Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 140, pl. XXIV *d*, *e*. [6] See above, p. 9.

[7] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 40, 47, 50 ff.; *J. H. S.*, 1926, pp. 117 ff. The imported Mycenaean pottery from the uppermost stratum at Phylakopi almost certainly belongs to this class, *B. S. A.*, XVII, p. 18 f.

This pottery was found on the floors of the Granary, and therefore was in use when the Granary was burnt, presumably at the fall of Mycenae, and it was also present in the higher and later levels of the Lion Gate section (Strata VI–XI).[1] Pottery of the same type occurred in two of the tombs, Tomb 502, where in addition to some fragments, nos. 21–3, a group of unbroken vases, nos. 5–12 (pls. XI, XII), were found in a small enclosure of stones which appears to represent the latest burial in the tomb, and in Tomb 515, where several vases, nos. 54–61 (pl. XXXI), of the same style were found with the later and upper burials. With these we can probably group two other vases, one from Tomb 517, no. 49 (pl. XXXIV), which was found above all the burials, and one from Tomb 524, no. 12 (pl. XXII).

Technique.

The Granary Class may be divided into two groups: A, the Close Style,[2] which differs in decoration rather than in technique from the earlier L.H. III ware, and B, the Granary Class proper which alone is represented in these tombs. This latter is inferior technically to the earlier L.H. III ware. The vases seem to be more hastily made, the clay is less well refined and has a poor surface, and the glaze paint is thin, washy, and not very lustrous. Generally the vases compared with the earlier L.H. III wares are crudely made and painted.

Shapes.

The shapes found in the tombs can be classified thus:

Drinking Vessels: Cup, shallow. One fragment only was found, Tomb 502, no. 21, which in shape and decoration is similar to cups from the East Basement of the Granary and from Stratum X by the Lion Gate.[3]

Pouring Vessels: Jug,[4] with horizontal lip. There were five, Tomb 502, no. 6, Tomb 515, a fragment (p. 55, note 1), nos. 58, 60, 61 (pls. XI, XXXI). The last, although the handle and the neck are missing, seems to be of this shape.

Jug, with horizontal lip and high-swung handle.[5] There are two specimens, Tomb 502, nos. 9 (pl. XI), 22.

Jug, with horizontal lip and neck projecting above the handle.[6] Two were found, Tomb 517, no. 49, Tomb 524, no. 12 (pls. XXXIV, XXII).

Stirrup-vase. One came from the enclosure in Tomb 502, no. 10 (pl. XI). This shows the tall, less globular form with a high handle and spout.[7]

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 27 ff.
[2] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 34, 41; *J.H.S.*, 1926, pp. 117 ff.
[3] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pls. X *a*, XI *k*, p. 33, fig. 9 *c*.
[4] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. VI *b*; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 11, fig. 41.
[5] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 32, fig. 8 *b*; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, I, 1, p. 158, A 883, pl. XIII.
[6] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXIII, 1; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 11, figs. 34–6.
[7] See above p. 170. Compare the examples from Salamis, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, pls. V, 5, 6, VI, 4.

Storage Vessels: Amphora. One example from the enclosure[1] in Tomb 502, no. 5 (pl. XII). This closely resembles in style several of the Granary and Lion Gate vases.[2]

Deep Bowl, Tomb 502, no. 23, Tomb 515, nos. 57, 59 (pl. XXXI). The Granary Class connexions of these have already been given.[3]

Jar, with two horizontal loop handles.[4] There were five complete, Tomb 502, nos. 11, 12, from the enclosure, Tomb 515, nos. 54, 55, 56 (pls. XI, XXXI), and fragments, Tomb 515 (p. 55, note 1). The Granary Class connexions of the two vases from the enclosure in Tomb 502 prove that they should be assigned to it, and they also take with them the three from Tomb 515, which are of similar style and were found with the uppermost and latest burials.

Miscellaneous Vessels: Askos. Two,[5] Tomb 502, nos. 7, 8 (pl. XI), come from the enclosure, but apart from that by their style would certainly be assigned to the Granary Class.

Patterns.

If the Close Style is excluded the patterns employed for the Granary Class are almost exclusively linear. The following patterns were represented on the vases found in these chamber tombs:

Bands, plain, thin, and thick. This is a favourite method,[6] Tomb 502, no. 21, Tomb 515, nos. 54–6, 58, 60, 61 (pl. XXXI). Sometimes as on Tomb 515, nos. 54, 55, they are combined with wide belts of solid colour.

Dashes. These occur once, Tomb 502, no. 7 (pl. XI).

Leaves, pendant. These[7] occur on one specimen, Tomb 502, no. 5 (pl. XII).

S-shaped Ornament. This[8] occurs once, Tomb 502, no. 5 (pl. XII).

Semicircles, concentric. Two vases show this pattern, Tomb 502, nos. 8, 10 (pl. XI).

Spirals. These occur once, Tomb 515 (p. 55, note 1).

Union Jack Pattern, on base of vase. There is one, Tomb 515, no. 54 (pl. XXXI).

[1] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. IX *a*.

[2] Especially the hydriae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 32, fig. 8 *c*, pl. X *d–f*.

[3] See p. 8 f. To the examples given can be added two from Asine, Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXIII, 1. Compare also the late example from Salamis, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, p. 28, fig. 6. Some of the late deep bowls or kraters from Vrokastro resemble the Granary Class examples in that the foot is left unpainted: Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 130 f., fig. 79, see p. 187 below.

[4] Compare Gräf, *Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, no. 237; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 11, fig. 40; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pls. XXXIII, 1, 2, pl. XLV, 1; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 210, A 1093, fig. 292.

[5] Compare Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 163, fig. 121 (5); *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 11, fig. 39; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 143, fig. 65 (41); *Corpus Vasorum, Copenhagen Mus. Nat.*, pl. 46, 9.

[6] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 33, fig. 9 *d*, pls. IX *a*, X *a*, *b*, XI *f*, *h*, *i*, *m*.

[7] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. VI *b*.

[8] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 32, fig. 8 *b*.

Wavy Lines. Three vases have these,[1] Tomb 502, nos. 11, 12, Tomb 515, no. 56 (pls. XI, XXXI).

Zigzag. One vase has this pattern,[2] Tomb 502, no. 10 (pl. XI).

Two other features characteristic of the decoration of the Granary Class are also illustrated by the vases from these tombs which belong to it. Several vases are covered all over with a thin, washy, hardly lustrous black paint, Tomb 502, nos. 6, 9, 22 (pl. XI). When a vase is covered over with such paint or decorated with wide belts of solid colour of the same quality, the paint often does not cover the base of the vase,[3] Tomb 502, nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 23 (pl. XI).

C. Metalwork.

1. *Bronze.*

Few weapons, implements, or vessels of bronze were found in these chamber tombs. Rich tombs like Tombs 515, 518, and 529 must at one time have contained many more bronzes than those we found, and some of the other tombs, such as Tombs 517 and 520, probably also once contained bronzes. The continual re-use of a tomb by the family to which it belonged was no doubt responsible for this absence of bronze, and indeed of other metal objects as explained above.[4] The detached dagger pommel of faience in Tomb 529, no. 31 (pl. LI), hints that the blade with which it must have been associated was removed from the tomb after they had become separated, perhaps by the decay of the wooden hilt.

Arrow-head. Only two of these were found in Tomb 515, no. 38 (pl. XXX). They are barbed, but have no tang. They have three or four small holes for fine pins to fasten them on to the end of the wooden shaft. This, the Late Bronze Age type, is broader, longer, and stronger than the Middle Helladic type,[5] and was in use from the Second Late Helladic Age at least.[6] Arrow-heads of flint and obsidian[7] were, however, still in use in the Late Bronze Age, for metal was too precious to be shot away lightly.

Awl. Three examples of a tool which was probably used as an awl or perhaps as

[1] Compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 25, fig. 7 *h*, p. 33, fig. 9 *b*; Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924-5, pls. XXXIII, 1, 2, XLV, 1; Gräf, *Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, no. 237; *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i, 1, p. 210, A 1093, fig. 292; and the Salamis vases, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1910, p. 23, fig. 1, p. 28, fig. 7.

[2] Compare Frödin-Persson, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII, 1.

[3] See above, p. 7, and compare *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 32 f., fig. 8 *b*, fig. 9 *e, f*, pls. X *b*, XI *m*.

[4] See p. 145.

[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 78, fig. 18.

[6] See the references given on p. 59, note 6; compare Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 206, fig. 92. Tsountas found in one tomb twenty bronze arrow-heads in two bundles of ten each.

[7] See below, p. 222 f.

a bodkin were found, Tomb 515, no. 19 (pl. XXIX), Tomb 525, no. 14, Tomb 533, no. 8*a*. They can be compared to somewhat similar implements from Gournia and elsewhere.[1] The specimen from Tomb 533, no. 8*a*, had a bone handle, and that from Tomb 525, no. 14, had a wooden handle, and the example from Tomb 515, no. 19, which was found handleless, probably had a wooden handle which had entirely perished.

Bead. The only two found, Tomb 515, no. 40 (pl. XXX), Tomb 526, no. 6 (pl. IX), are discussed under Beads, below, p. 205.

Dagger. One nearly complete was found in the alcove of Tomb 518, no. 49 (pl. VII), a particularly fine specimen, well made and in good condition. The pommel, which was probably of wood like the hilt, is missing. The upper part of the tang also appears to be missing, for most of the extant daggers which have their tangs complete have three rivet-holes for attaching the wooden side-pieces, and also a peg at the end for fastening the pommel. In this only two rivet-holes are preserved and there is no peg, and so one may assume that the upper end of the tang has been broken off. The wooden side-pieces for the hilt have almost entirely perished, but enough remains to show that they ended on the shoulder with a kidney-shaped opening which was perhaps originally filled with an inlay. The wood itself was probably once covered with gold leaf. The kidney-shaped opening on the shoulder, where two bronze rivets fasten the wood to the metal, shows the type to which this dagger or short sword belongs, especially if we assume that there was a third rivet in the tang. On the cruciform swords of the Zafer Papoura cemetery, especially in the magnificent gold-plated example from the Chieftain's Grave, there were side-pieces of this type, with the kidney-shaped opening on the shoulder with a split below just over the midrib.[2] They have three rivets in the tang and two in the shoulders, one on either side of the kidney-shaped opening.[3] Five swords of this cruciform type were found in the Zafer Papoura tombs where the type begins in L.M. II and continues into L.M. III. In Tomb 78 at Mycenae Tsountas[4] found a cruciform sword of this type. In the tholos tomb at Dendra Persson[5] found two examples of the cruciform type by the king's body with exactly the same type of hilt. There are also two cruciform swords from Ialyssos in the British Museum.[6] At Mycenae, too, in Tombs 102

[1] Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. IV, 17. Compare Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 119, pl. XXV, N; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 216, 218, 219, figs. 286 (4), 288 (3–7), 289 (5); Παπαβασιλείου, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων, p. 26, fig. 17; Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 183 (5), pl. XX, 18.

[2] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 110, fig. 112, pl. XCI, fig. 109.

[3] This type of hilt resembles, but differs from that in the Fifth Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 133, no. 725, pls. LXXXI–LXXXII, p. 136, fig. 52. It occurs once in a horned sword from Tomb 81 at Mycenae, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pl. VIII, 2, and on a shoulderless sword from Tomb 78, at the same site, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pl. VII, 3, 3*a*.

[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pl. VIII, 1.

[5] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 34 ff., nos. 9, 11, pls. XX (II, IV, 3), XXII, XXIV.

[6] Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. D, 11, 13; others have been found by Maiuri, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 98, fig. 15, n. 19, p. 199, fig. 124. Compare also the dagger found by Schliemann at Mycenae, *Mycenae*, p. 164, fig. 238.

and 81 Tsountas[1] found two separate side-pieces, one in faience, one in onyx from similar hilts with rivet-holes in the same positions. The hilt of this dagger is not indeed cruciform, but in the projection of the shoulders represents a stage in the evolution of the cruciform type. If the cruciform type[2] is derived from the Shaft Grave type with very slightly projecting shoulders straight on top,[3] then this dagger shows a form intermediate between the Shaft Grave and the cruciform types. Tomb 518 contained mainly L.H. I and II pottery. The Shaft Grave swords cannot be later than L.H. I. The cruciform type begins before the end of L.H. II, but continues into L.H. III, as shown by the Ialyssos swords. Consequently therefore this dagger as an intermediate form could be assigned to the first half of L.H. II (equivalent to L.M. I *b* in Crete), and this dating agrees well with that of the pottery from Tomb 518. Most of the cruciform swords, especially those of L.H. III or L.M. III date, have flanged edges to the tang,[4] and this dagger shows a kind of rudimentary flange, for the edges of the bronze tang are slightly turned up to grip the wooden side-pieces.

From Tomb 529, no. 27 (pl. VII), is a fragment of a dagger, the upper part of the blade just at the base of the hilt with three small studs in a horizontal row, which suggest that it belonged to a small dagger of the well-known Shaft Grave type.[5] It was found in association with the remains of burials IV, V, VI, and so should date not later than the first half of L.H. II.

Knife. There were five well-preserved knives, though some were broken, two each from Tomb 515, nos. 17, 18 (pl. XXIX), Tomb 518, nos. 50, 51 (pl. VII), and one from Tomb 529, no. 25 (pl. VII). Though they vary in size, they are all of the same type. They have a curved cutting edge ending in a point, and a fairly broad back practically in the same straight line with the handle. This is the usual type of the Late Bronze Age and occurs both on the Mainland[6] and in Crete.[7] The handles were formed by two plates of ivory, as in Tomb 529, no. 25,[8] or of wood, as

[1] *J.H.S.*, 1904, p. 324, 4908; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pl. VIII, 5, p. 108; *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 603, fig. 71. Another side-piece in faience was found by Tsountas on the Acropolis at Mycenae, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1897, pl. VIII, 6.

[2] Naue, *Vorrömische Schwerter*, pp. 10 ff., type I *dd*, pl. V, 4, 4*a*. See Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, p. 34.

[3] Naue, *op. cit.*, Type I *c*, pl. III, 4; see Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 34, fig. 23.

[4] For instance the Ialyssos examples, which like one from Palaikastro (Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pl. XXV, 1, p. 117) have a bronze pommel in the same piece with the tang.

[5] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, nos. 394, 396, 397, 746, 747, pls. LXXXIX, XC, XCI–XCIV, pp. 95 ff., 135 ff.

[6] Mycenae, Fourth Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, nos. 216 *a*, *b*, p. 70, pl. LXXII; Mycenae, Tomb 5, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 173, pl. IX, 21; Thebes, Montelius, *Grèce Préclassique*, I, pl. 16, 1; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, III, p. 197, no. 3, fig. 142, 4; Korakou, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 108, fig. 133 (1); Zygouries, Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 203, fig. 190 (1); Dendra, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 90, 98, nos. 27, 28, 100, no. 4, fig. 73, pl. XXXII; Παπαβασιλείου, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων, p. 26, fig. 17.

[7] Knossos, Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, pl. XCI, fig. 113, 51 *c*, 75 *d*, 3 *a*, 4 *b*, 64 *c*, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 4, fig. 5, p. 42, fig. 54; Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 119, pl. XXV, K. The type is also known in Rhodes, at Ialyssos, Maiuri, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 149, fig. 70, p. 181, fig. 106, p. 230, fig. 147; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. D, 6, 9.

[8] Compare the example from Tomb 82 at Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3129.

in Tomb 518,[1] no. 50, applied to the sides of the flat tang and fastened with three or more rivets as required. Sometimes apparently the ivory or wooden handle ended in an ornamental knob.[2] An unusual feature, the row of incised spirals along the back of the blade, occurs in the fine example with the ivory handle from Tomb 529, no. 25.

Pin. Two small specimens were found in Tomb 515, no. 64, and Tomb 520, no. 39.

Plate. The fragments of bronze plate from Tomb 515, no. 39, Tomb 529, no. 30, show that both these tombs once certainly contained more bronzes which have either decayed or were damaged when the tombs were reused.

Ring. There is one plain bronze ring found in a L.H. III association in Tomb 523, no. 17 (pl. xx). This is a cheaper version of the similar ring in gold from Tomb 513, no. 8,[3] and the silver rings from Tomb 514, no. 3, and Tomb 530, no. 16.[4]

Rivet or Nail Head. There are two of these in Tomb 515, nos. 63, 76, which had probably become detached from weapons, tools, or vessels.

Rod. There are fragments of bronze rods of unknown use from Tomb 530, no. 17, and Tomb 532, no. 22.

Scale Pan. These are often found in Late Helladic tombs[5] and elsewhere, and may be compared with the gold scales from the Third Shaft Grave.[6] Here a broken one was found in the dromos of Tomb 515, no. 20 (pl. xxix), and two in the earlier layers of Tomb 529, no. 29, so that in neither case can they be later than L.H. II.

Spear Head. The fine spear head on pl. vii may be included here. It was found in a trial pit on the south-west slope of the Acropolis outside the cyclopean walls. There is a midrib along the blade which is separated from the socket by a definite neck. The socket is not cast as such, but is made by bending round a flat piece of metal, as is shown by the open slit down one side. There is a hole near the open end of the socket for a nail to fasten on the shaft, but there is no ring round the end of the socket.[7] The absence of the ring and the form of the spear head make it typologically older than those of the Sixth Shaft Grave,[8] and it might even be considered of Middle Helladic date parallel to the M. M. III examples from Mochlos.[9] Persson[10] thinks the spear heads without a neck between the

[1] Compare the example from Dendra, Persson, *op. cit.*, p. 98, no. 27, pl. xxxii, 6, p. 100, fig. 73.

[2] Compare the examples from Mycenae, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888 pl. ix, 21; Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 70, no. 216*a*, pl. lxxii, Dendra, Persson, *op. cit.*, p. 98, no. 27, p. 100, fig. 73, Zygouries, Blegen. *Zygouries*, p. 203, fig. 190 (1). [3] See p. 48, pl. xxv. [4] See pp. 50, 109.

[5] Vaphio, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. viii, 4, pp. 156 ff.; Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2544; Gournia, Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, pl. iv, 63 A; see Stais, *Coll. Mycénienne*[2], p. 183, nos. 1855–1860.

[6] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, pp. 53, 55, 56, nos. 70, 81, 82, fig. 13, pl. xxxiv.

[7] See Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, pp. 38, 39; and the series of types in Montelius, *Grèce Préclassique*, i, pl. 15, 18–23.

[8] Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 161 f., nos. 910, 933, pl. xcvi; compare the other two spear heads from the same tomb, Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 160, nos. 902, 903, pl. xcvi, and the two late spear heads from Ialyssos, Maiuri, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, pp. 133, 199, figs. 54, 124.

[9] Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 75, nos. 10, 12, fig. 45.

[10] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 63, 97. The examples of his earlier type from the tholos tomb at

blade and socket are older, but further evidence on the subject is needed, especially since spear heads have been found at so many sites.

Tweezers. In the simple type, illustrated here by Tomb 515, no. 62, and Tomb 529, no. 28 (pl. VII), the bronze is bent to make the two arms which splay out slightly towards the end so as to make the nipping surface wider. This type, which can be dated back to the early Bronze Age, continued in use throughout the Bronze Age and often occurs in tombs and elsewhere on the Mainland,[1] in Crete,[2] and in the islands.[3] Persson says that the earlier type has no loop and widens more abruptly at the ends.[4] The presence or absence of the loop is, however, no criterion of date, as the loop occurs in early Bronze Age examples from the Mainland and from Crete and the islands.[5] There is a late type in which there is a spring or twisted coil between the arms like the spring of a fibula.[6] The arms of another pair with blades gradually widening towards the end were found in Tomb 529, no. 26 (pl. VII), and resemble a pair from Mochlos,[7] which had probably been mounted in a wooden handle.

2. *Gold.*

The amount of gold found in the tombs was not great, but the number of small individual objects of gold found in Tombs 515, 518, and 520 suggests that there must once have been a much greater amount of gold laid with the dead in these tombs, and that members of the family on reopening a tomb for another burial removed most of the earlier gold. The original tenant of the pit in Tomb 515, presumably a woman, was dressed in garments richly ornamented with gold to judge by the rosettes and embossed strips found there, to say nothing of the curled leaf ornaments, the purpose of which has not yet been decided.

Dendra seem in bad condition, but three of the four have rings at the ends of the sockets. Compare the late spear head from Ialyssos, Maiuri, *op. cit.*, p. 230, fig. 147.

[1] E. H.: Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 216, fig. 286 (3); Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 183, no. 4, pl. XX, 19; Παπαβασιλείου, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἀρχαίων τάφων*, pp. 6, 8, figs. 4, 11, pl. H.

M. H.: Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, p. 74, pl. XXIX, 2; *A. J. A.*, 1925, p. 420; Tsountas, Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις, pl. 4, 1, 2, pp. 140, 143.

L. H.: Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 145, no. 818, pls. CXXXVI, XCV, XCVI; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 89, fig. 62; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, pp. 129, 173, figs. 92, 127; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 8, fig. 22; Παπαβασιλείου, *op. cit.*, p. 26, fig. 17; Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 218 f., fig. 289 (2); *A. J. A.*, 1925, p. 425.

[2] Seager, *Mochlos*, pp. 73, 74, nos. 25, 28, 33, figs. 12, 44; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 118, pl. XXV, E; Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 115, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 99, fig. 70, p. 101; Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of Mesará*, pp. 28, 82, 109, pl. XXIV *b*, pl. XLIII *b*, pl. LVI.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, pl. XII, 4, 1899, pl. X, 40–2.

[4] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 90.

[5] See the references in notes 1 and 2.

[6] Maiuri, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, VI–VII, p. 181, fig. 106.

[7] Seager, *Mochlos*, p. 73, no. 25 *a*, *b*, fig. 44.

Bead: Cylinder, flattened. One was found in Tomb 515, no. 80*f*.

Spherical, plain. One was found in Tomb 517, no. 46 (pl. XXXVI), and two in Tomb 515, nos. 80*e*, *j* (pl. XXXII), one of which was quite small. All three were made by soldering together round the middle two cup-shaped halves, presumably formed by pressing flat discs of gold into moulds and then piercing them from within before the soldering was done.

Spherical, decorated. One was found in Tomb 515, no. 24 (pl. XXIX), rather high up in the dromos, and it presumably belonged to the burials, the remains of which were found there. Like the plain beads, it is composed of two cup-shaped pieces soldered together, and the joint was then masked by a double row of fine granulated work. Each hemisphere is decorated with five circles of granulated work, the centres of which, as on a similar bead from Tomb 55 at Mycenae,[1] were probably filled with blue glass paste. The threading holes also have rims of granulated work. The evidence of pottery from the dromos of Tomb 515, coupled with that given by the similar beads from Vaphio[2] and the Argive Heraion,[3] shows that this type of bead and probably also this style of granulated work are to be dated to L.H. II. Such granulated work in which each grain is attached separately is another instance of the Mycenaean craftsman's capacity for taking infinite pains with minute things. This could also be cited in support of Persson's belief[4] that such work, demanding the utmost skill in putting together a great number of tiny pieces, was highly prized by the Mycenaeans.

Curled Leaf Ornament. At the north end of the pit in Tomb 515, no. 80*g*, were found three of the actual curled leaf ornaments in thin gold,[5] and in the same pit were also eight imitations of the same ornament in glass, Tomb 515, no. 79*a*. From one of the gold examples was still suspended by fine gold wire a plain gold disc. With these were two of the triple-leaf pendants, Tomb 515, no. 80*h*, that always accompany the curled leaf ornaments. Each pendant consists of three narrow pointed leaves, from the tips of which were also suspended plain gold discs. One of these was still *in situ*. Twenty-seven plain gold discs of this type which had become detached were found in the same place, Tomb 515, nos. 80*b*, 80*i*.

This type of ornament I have discussed and illustrated elsewhere,[6] and I then suggested that the curled leaf ornaments in gold (like their imitations in glass) were used to make up necklaces. The ornaments are usually narrower at the root than at the curled end, and so when placed side by side naturally form a curve. Further, the gold discs attached to their tips would more naturally hang downwards below the ends of the curls and of the pointed leaves. Evans[7] has

[1] Athens, Nat. Museum, no. 2845; Stais, *Coll. Mycénienne*[2], p. 89.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, p. 151, pl. VII, 7.

[3] From Tomb 44. Professor Blegen, whom I have to thank for this information, will publish it in his forthcoming book.

[4] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 62 f.

[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pl. LXI, 1*c*.

[6] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 397 ff., pl. LXI. To the list of moulds given (*loc. cit.*, p. 398, note 3) should be added another steatite mould from Knossos in the Ashmolean Museum, which is probably not older than L M. II. On the dating of steatite moulds see Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 150.

[7] *J. H. S.*, 1925, p. 1.

accepted the necklace theory, and Maiuri[1] came independently to much the same conclusion when he proposed that they were strung together side by side, necklace fashion, and worn above the forehead like a diadem with the curled leaves hanging below and imitating a row of curls of hair. Holland[2] would turn the ornament the other way up, and identify it with the curled plumes on crowns worn by women and sphinxes in Cretan and Mycenaean representations on frescoes and elsewhere. This, however, hardly gives a satisfactory explanation of the plain gold discs.

Persson, in the king's grave in the tholos tomb at Dendra,[3] found by the head of the king eleven examples of the curled leaf ornament in glass, and with them nine specimens of pointed leaves, which he thought were glass copies of the cut pieces of boar's tusks used for the protection of helmets.[4] These pieces of glass, however, were in the form of small pointed leaves, and thus quite different in shape from the cut pieces of boar's tusks from helmets. Further, as the grave was intact the whole of the helmet should have been there, but Persson found only nine examples of the so-called boar's tusks of glass. As will be seen below,[5] the forty-six curved pieces of boar's tusks from Tomb 518, no. 59, were barely enough to reconstruct half a helmet (pl. XXXVIII). Thus, to imagine that in an undisturbed grave all except nine of the glass boar's tusks (there should have been about ninety at least) had perished seems incredible. Glass, too, would be an unsatisfactory and unpractical material for protecting a helmet. As the curled leaf ornaments found by Persson do not have the pointed leaves made in the same piece with them, it seems clear that Persson's glass boar's tusks are really the pointed leaves which always accompany the curled leaves.[6] There were eleven curled leaves and nine pointed leaves, and so the numbers agree, if one admits the possibility that two pointed leaves could have decayed. Since the curled leaf ornaments with their accompanying pointed leaves were found at Dendra in the undisturbed grave about the king's head, they apparently must have been worn on the head, for it seems unlikely that a man would wear a necklace. On the other hand, if one is right in assuming from the gold rosettes and embossed strips, Tomb 515, no. 80 *a*, *c*, *k*, that the pit in Tomb 515 was originally occupied by a woman, then the curled leaf ornament was worn in some way by women as well,[7] unless the pit in Tomb 515, like the grave of the king and queen at Dendra, had once held the body of a man as well as that of a woman. If, then, the ornament could be worn by either sex, it would seem more reasonable to follow Maiuri's suggestion that it formed some kind of frontlet or circlet for the head, though the possibility that it could also have been used for necklaces should not be excluded.

Leaf. Some crumpled gold leaf was found in the dromos and in the chamber of Tomb 515, nos. 26, 72 *c*. It had probably been used to gild objects of some other

[1] *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 101, fig. 19.
[2] *A. J. A.*, 1929, pp. 173 ff.
[3] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 16, 36 (13), 64, fig. 41, pl. XXV, 1.
[4] See below, p. 213.
[5] pp. 212 ff.
[6] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 399 ff., pl. LXI.
[7] Maiuri (*op. cit.*, p. 101) calls it *sicuramente femminile.*

material, wood, glass, clay, like the terracotta button from Tomb 515, no. 27, or stone, and had been removed on one of the occasions when the tomb was reopened to prepare for another burial.

Necklace. There were no complete necklaces, but three different patterns (of one of which there are two types) of gold ornaments which undoubtedly come from necklaces were found.

Chrysalis. There was one small hollow bead of this type in Tomb 518, no. 76 (pl. XXXVIII), which is probably of L.H. II date. It is made of two pieces of gold soldered together. The under side is flat, and the upper side represents a chrysalis in relief which seems to have been made by pressing a piece of thin sheet gold into a mould. Evans[1] connects the chrysalis and the butterfly as emblems of new life after death, and compares the pendants with more summarily rendered chrysalises from the third Shaft Grave,[2] in which gold discs embossed with butterflies were also found. Nilsson,[3] however, is not inclined to accept this theory.

Shield. One small hollow bead of two pieces of gold soldered together came from Tomb 518, no. 77 (pl. XXXVIII). The back is flat and the top is moulded into the form of a figure-of-eight shield. A similar bead was apparently found by Tsountas in Tomb 102,[4] which would confirm the L.H. II dating of this bead given by the pottery associated with it. Beads of the same shape were found in Tomb 93 at Enkomi.[5]

Volute, double. In Tomb 520, no. 38 (fig. 12, p. 27), in the dromos were found two hollow gold ornaments, each with three perforations for threading. The back is flat and soldered on separately to the moulded front. In Tomb 515, no. 80 *d* (pl. XXXII), at the south end of the pit in the chamber were ten ornaments of a somewhat similar type. Neither type is uncommon in Late Helladic gold work. The larger type, that from Tomb 520, was found in a necklace from Tomb 78 at Mycenae,[6] in Tomb VII at Argos,[7] and in Tomb 26 at Thebes.[8] The smaller type, that from Tomb 515, was found in a L.M. III tomb at Phaistos[9] and in the grave pit in the dromos of the tomb of Clytemnestra.[10] The latter, from its occurrence in Tomb 515 in a low stratum, is probably L.H. II, and the larger type from Tomb 520 is almost certainly no later than early L.H. III. This type of ornament is common in other materials.[11]

[1] *J. H. S.*, 1925, pp. 55 ff.; *Palace of Minos*, iii, pp. 149 ff.; see too, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 166.

[2] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 55, no. 78, pl. XXII.

[3] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 553.

[4] It is exhibited in the National Museum, Athens, with the gold bar or 'toggle' mentioned by Bosanquet from this tomb, *J. H. S.*, 1904, p. 324, no. 4916, and presumably is from the same tomb.

[5] *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, no. 580, pl. V; and compare *ibid.*, no. 678, of unknown provenance.

[6] Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 219, fig. 104 (= *Mont. Ant.*, xiv, p. 599, fig. 63); Athens, Nat. Museum, no. 3087.

[7] *B. C. H.*, 1904, p. 388, fig. 28.

[8] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 197, fig. 142, 5.

[9] Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, i, pl. XVI (= *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 599, fig. 62).

[10] *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 365, fig. 79 *n.*, p. 373, no. 13.

[11] See for instance p. 221.

Pendant. In Tomb 518, no. 75 (pl. xxxviii), was a beautifully proportioned pendant in the shape of a pomegranate bud. At the base is a loop for suspension and two rows of granulated[1] work. The eye also is surrounded by two rings of granulated work, one within and one without. Inside the inner ring the centre of the eye is now empty, but was probably once filled with blue glass paste[2] or some similar inlay. As usual each tiny gold bead of the granulated work was attached separately and the ribbed circular body was probably made in two pieces. In the Vaphio tomb a silver pin had a head of gold in the form of a pomegranate[3] bud also with granulated work, and in the Third Shaft Grave[4] were ten pendants with pomegranate buds, but without granulated work. These latter are L.H. I, and so we might consider the more refined forms and the granulated decoration of the Vaphio example and of this one from Mycenae as marking the evolution in this type of ornament from L.H. I to L.H. II, which is the date of the Vaphio tomb and the central date for Tomb 518. In the British Museum[5] there is a pendant in the form of a pomegranate bud from Tomb 67 at Enkomi which is not older than L.H. III.

Ring. In Tomb 518, no. 74 (pl. xxxviii), was a plain gold ring with a bezel in the form of an eight-petalled flower with an eye of blue glass paste. This may be attributed to L.H. II. In Tomb 513, no. 8 (pl. xxv), was a plain gold ring, doubtless the most expensive form of this type, which was found also in silver and in bronze.[6]

Rosette. In Tomb 515, nos. 72 *a*, *b*, 80 *c*, *k*, were found over a hundred embossed rosettes of thin gold plate, of two different sizes (pls. xxx, xxxii). One similar gold rosette of the small size was found in Tomb 502, no. 28 (pl. xiii). This latter is of L.H. III date, the former are probably all L.H. II. Each rosette is pierced with small holes round the edge, and in nearly every case at one point the line of holes leaves the edge and follows a chord across the rosette to the edge again. This suggests the use of rosettes laid over one another like scales, and sewn down to a linen backing to decorate skirts like those worn by the Tirynthian women,[7] which have bands of yellow (gold) and blue (silver) scale patterns. In the pit in Tomb 515 the rosettes were found close together and overlapping one another, and several were doubled up as though by the folds of a garment. The Third Shaft Grave[8] contained an enormous number of gold rosettes which Staes[9] thought had been used to decorate wooden coffins. The rosettes, however, were found only in the Third Grave which contained the skeletons of three women, and in the Fifth Grave which had only seventeen complete rosettes.[10] It appears

[1] See p. 192.
[2] Compare the ring, Tomb 518, no. 74 (pl. xxxviii).
[3] Athens, Nat. Museum, no. 1810; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. vii, 4, p. 150 f.
[4] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 55, no. 77, pl. xxii.
[5] *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, no. 623, pl. v.
[6] See pp. 190, 197.
[7] Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii, pl. viii.
[8] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 165; Karo, *Schachtgräber*, pp. 43 ff., nos. 2, 4, 6, 10–14, 18, 20, pls. xxviii, xxix.
[9] Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1907, pp. 31 ff.; compare Meurer, *Jahrbuch*, 1912, p. 208, Evans, *Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs*, pp. 4 ff.
[10] Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 124 f., nos. 640–6, 647, 655, pl. lvi.

much more likely that the rosettes were sewn on to women's skirts[1] than that they decorated coffins of which no traces were found in the Shaft Graves at all.[2] Further, in some cases in Egypt[3] in the Eighteenth Dynasty rosettes of gold or gilt bronze have been found sewn on to women's garments as decoration. This evidence, coupled with that of the Tirynthian frescoes and the condition in which the rosettes were found in the bottom of the pit in Tomb 515, seems practically conclusive[4] and to outweigh definitely Staes's conjectures about coffins for which there is no real evidence at all.

Strip. In Tomb 515, nos. 72 *e*, 80 *a* (pl. XXXII), notably in the pit were found a number of embossed strips of thin sheet gold. Some were complete and some were cut in half longitudinally. They all have a pattern of an ivy-leaf type with curled lobes, and are pierced with holes for fastening to some form of background. An analogous gold strip with a similar pattern was found in the grave pit in the dromos of the Tomb of Clytemnestra[5] which, to judge by the mirrors found in it, was probably the grave of a woman.[6] As I have suggested elsewhere,[7] embossed gold strips of this type were probably sewn on to the edges of women's clothes as ornamental bindings and can be seen illustrated in some frescoes.[8]

Stud. In Tomb 515, no. 25 (pl. XXIX), in the dromos with the remains of L.H. II interments, presumably removed from the chamber, was a plain gold stud with four pins on the under side. There is a similar stud from Vaphio in the National Museum at Athens[9] which confirms the L.H. II date proposed for this example. Also in the chamber of Tomb 515, no. 72 *d*, was a small gold stud, mushroom shaped, and it has the appearance of having served as the gold cap[10] for a bronze rivet, from a sword or dagger or some other metal object.

3. *Lead.*

Wire. Several broken and rather decayed pieces of wire of this metal were found in Tomb 530, no. 21. Its purpose was not clear. Professor Blegen informs me that he has found similar wire in several of the chamber tombs at the Argive Heraion.

[1] As suggested for instance by Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 202.

[2] See Karo, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., who proves that the bodies in the Shaft Graves were not buried in coffins.

[3] Carter-Mace, *Tomb of Tutankhamen*, i, pl. LXXVIII; Winlock-Mace, *Tomb of Senebtesi*, p. 59, pl. XXI; T. M. Davis, *Harmhabi and Touatânkhamen*, pp. 133 ff., fig. 13, pl. LXXXIX; *id.*, *Tomb of Queen Tiyi*, p. 40, nos. 54-6, pl. v, 8.

[4] See also Wace, *Cretan Statuette*, pp. 33 ff.

[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 365, fig. 79 *d*.

[6] Compare Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 187.

[7] *Cretan Statuette*, p. 32 f.

[8] For instance Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii, pl. VIII, compare *ibid.*, p. 80, note 4.

[9] No. 1827.

[10] Compare Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pl. XXIV, p. 35; *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 303 f., fig. 57 *g*.

4. *Silver.*

Cup or Bowl. Some very badly oxidized fragments of a vessel of this type, probably of L.H. II date, were found in the dromos of Tomb 515, no. 21.

Pin. A plain silver pin was found near skull no. VI in the chamber of Tomb 515, no. 65.

Ring. Two plain silver rings were found on the hand of the girl's skeleton, no. 1, in the pit in Tomb 514, no. 3. They and the similar ring from Tomb 530, no. 16, rank between the more expensive plain gold ring from Tomb 513, no. 8 (pl. XXV), and the cheaper bronze ring of a similar type from Tomb 523, no. 17 (pl. XX).

Wire. Badly oxidized fragments of fine silver wire were found in Tomb 518, no. 73, with an engraved gem no. 61 (pl. XXXVIII), and had presumably formed the string on which it was originally threaded.[1]

D. Engraved Gems.

As the tombs proved unexpectedly rich in engraved gems or sealstones of various substances, they are grouped together here in one section, and classified according to material.

Amber. Amber is frequently found in L.H. I and L.H. II tombs,[2] but objects of carved amber are extremely rare. The engraved amygdaloid amber bead from Tomb 518, no. 69 *a* (fig. 33, p. 86), with an intaglio design, apparently of a bull, unfortunately not very clear owing to the inevitable decay of amber when buried, seems to have only one parallel.[3] Engraved lines often occur on the backs of amygdaloid beads of gold, glass, faience, or stone.[4]

Faience. The cylinder from Tomb 517, no. 32 (pl. XXXV, fig. 28, p. 73), was found in the pit, that is to say in the lowest stratum in the chamber in association with pottery of L.H. I and L.H. II date. In fact, no objects later than L.H. II were found in the pit. No satisfactory comparison for this cylinder can be quoted. Although in style it resembles a steatite gem found on the acropolis at Mycenae[5] (pl. XX *a*), it has no Cretan or Mycenaean parallels. Hogarth thought it might be Syrian of the eleventh century, and Hall suggested it might be Cypriote and of late XVIIIth or of XIXth Dynasty date. If, however, it is to be dated by its stratification it cannot be later that 1400 B.C., and may well go back to the later sixteenth century. The rigid style and the dress of the men with the conventional tree certainly seem to point to oriental inspiration, perhaps from the places suggested,[6] or perhaps from Cilicia.

[1] Compare Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 59. [2] See p. 204.

[3] Apparently the only other known example is one from Laconia, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, X, Παράρτημα, p. 43, fig. 3. [4] See pp. 206 ff. [5] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 5409.

[6] Compare Cesnola, *Salaminia*, pls. XII, XIII, XIV, especially pl. XIII, 29; compare the Syrian and Cypriote cylinders in the Ashmolean Museum.

Glass. To the engraved gems of glass known from other Late Helladic tombs[1] we can add two, one each from Tomb 516, no. 6 (fig. 26, p. 67), and Tomb 518, no. 70 (fig. 35, p 87). The latter is interesting in that it has two perforations following the horizontal axis, and so was probably strung on a necklace. The intaglio design shows a bull, not unlike one on a gem figured by Bossert.[2] The other glass gem, from Tomb 516, no. 6, shows an eagle with outspread wings, and can be compared to a gem from Knossos[3] and one figured by Bossert.[4] Here, however, the nature of the bird is not so clearly indicated. This was found with L.H. I pottery and glass beads and so is probably contemporary with them.[5] In Tomb 517, no. 34 *h* (pl. xxxv), was found a fragment of a lentoid bead which possibly also had an intaglio design.

Gold. The intaglio design on the bezel of the gold ring[6] from Tomb 520, no. 43 (fig. 13, p. 27), shows a version of the familiar theme of a pair of animals, in this case wild goats, heraldically disposed on either side of a sacred tree, though here there is a group of three trees between and behind the two goats.[7] Evans[8] has illustrated some examples which show other animals, and he[9] and Nilsson[10] have discussed the subject which is connected with the Mycenaean Tree Cult. A lentoid agate from Mycenae[11] shows two rampant wild goats back to back full of life and vigour, but the delicate observation of nature and animal forms on this ring are unsurpassed.

Scarab. The two Egyptian scarabs from Tomb 526, nos. 1, 2 (pl. ix), have been discussed by Pendlebury[12] in connexion with the close contact between Egypt and Mycenae and the Mainland from the reign of Amenhotep III onwards. They are genuine Egyptian importations and belong most probably to the reign of Amenhotep III, and so date the beads, Tomb 526, nos. 4–7 (pl. ix), with which they were associated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, to the beginning of L.H. III. It is unfortunate that the tomb, that of a woman who probably wore the beads, contained no pottery, because as there was only one burial in the tomb any vases in it could have been fairly accurately dated by these scarabs.

[1] For instance Vaphio, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. x, 7; Mycenae, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. x, 6, 27, 32.

[2] *Altkreta*[2], pl. 318 *i*.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1907, pl. viii, 156.

[4] *Op. cit.*; pl. 315 *g*.

[5] Outspread wings are a feature of the monsters and beasts on the Zakro sealings, esp. *J. H. S.*, 1902, pp. 76 ff., figs. 8, 10, 12, 13, 22, 23, pls. vi, 20, 21, 25–8, vii, 29, 33–5.

[6] See p. 26 f.

[7] Compare the crystal from Mycenae, Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 58, fig. 34 (= Beazley, *Lewes House Collection*, no. 4, p. 2, pl. 1).

[8] *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 56 ff., figs. 30–3, and especially fig. 34; cf. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. x, 43 (= Bossert, *Altkreta*[2], pl. 321 *a*) from Tomb 25, Mycenae; Beazley, *Lewes House Collection*, no. 4, p. 2, pl. 1 (= Evans, *op. cit.*, fig. 34).

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

[10] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 244 ff.

[11] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 56, fig. 30.

[12] *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xvi (1930), p. 88; see also his *Aegyptiaca*, p. 56, nos. 95, 96.

The third scarab, Tomb 526, no. 3 (pl. IX), which is of unglazed steatite, has a sketchy representation in intaglio of a horned animal and may be a Mycenaean or Cypriote imitation.[1]

Stone. Tsountas in his excavations of chamber tombs at Mycenae had found a considerable number of sealstones engraved with intaglio designs, and it was not surprising, therefore, that the chamber tombs excavated by us should also have yielded several gems of interesting types and of high artistic value. Further, the fact that we were enabled to date the tombs and the various strata of interments in them provides, practically for the first time, a series of engraved sealstones which can be assigned to definite stages in the development of art at Mycenae in Late Helladic times. This naturally allows us to draw distinctions between L.H. II gems and those of L.H. III. Hitherto the best dated series of gems is the magnificent collection found in the Vaphio tomb,[2] which since that tomb belongs to the beginning of L.H. II cannot be later in date than 1450 B.C. In the tholos tomb at Dendra Persson found in the gold octopus cup of the king some splendid gems which date from the beginning of L.H. III.[3] These with those from our chamber tombs provide the basis for a study of the evolution of style in gem engraving on the Mainland from the close of the fifteenth century down at least to the close of the fourteenth century B.C.

The best group of gems, and one which without any doubt from the evidence of the pottery found with them dates from L.H. II times, is the set of six found in the dromos of Tomb 515. Of the six the finest artistically is probably no. 33 (pl. XXVIII), which seems to represent a wounded lion. The left hind leg scratches at the wound in his flank and he turns his head and snarls defiance at his enemies. The spirit of the drawing is equalled by the sympathetic naturalism of the subject. Wounded lions were apparently a favourite theme for gem engravers. They occur, for instance, on a gem from Vaphio[4] and on one from Tomb 518, no. 62 (pl. XXXVIII). This one recalls the Homeric simile of the wounded and angry lion.[5] The nearest parallel is the golden bead seal from the Third Shaft Grave[6] which dates from L.H. I.

Of almost equal artistic merit, but with a rather more popular and more sentimental subject, is the fine onyx showing a cow suckling her calf, no. 34 (pl. XXVIII). As is well known, this subject anticipates by several hundred years the familiar coin type of Corcyra, and it was popular both in Crete and on the Mainland.[7] The attitude of the cow is similar to that of a cow on a sard from

[1] Compare the conical seal from Tomb 22 at Enkomi, British Museum, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 12, no. 94, pl. II.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. X.

[3] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pl. XIX.

[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. X, 3.

[5] *Iliad*, E 136 ff.

[6] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 49, no. 34, pl. XXIV.

[7] The parallels have been collected by Beazley, *Lewes House Collection*, no. 5, p. 2, pl. I, and to them can be added a gold ring from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no 3178, a sardonyx from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2434, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. X, 22, and an agate from Mycenae, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2974.

Vaphio,[1] and similar subjects of other animals with the young are not uncommon: the goats and kids and the cows and calves on the faience plaques from the Temple Repositories at Knossos,[2] a lion and its cub on a gem from Crete,[3] and on another in Berlin.[4]

The lentoid onyx no. 35 (pl. XXVIII) with two recumbent oxen is extremely close in style, subject, and composition to two gems, a sardonyx and a sard, from Vaphio,[5] and not unlike an agate lentoid from a chamber tomb at Mycenae[6] and another bought in Athens.[7] Evans dates these gems from the Vaphio evidence to L.M. I *b*, that is to the first half of L.H. II, a date fully confirmed by the evidence of this gem from Tomb 515, which is clearly L.H. II.

The two carnelian lentoids nos. 31, 32 (pl. XXVIII), with practically identical representations of the goddess with the double axe, if less good artistically are from the religious aspect extremely important. They have been already discussed by Nilsson[8] and are also being dealt with by Evans.[9] The object which the goddess holds above her head is clearly intended to represent snakes, but perhaps not actual snakes so much as a ritual object imitating snake forms. A gem from the Dictaean Cave[10] (pl. LVII *c*) and another in Cassel[11] (pl. LVII *a*), which is said to have been found in the Menidi Tomb, show the goddess carrying the same object but without the double axe, which is also lacking on a gem with a similar representation recently found by Maiuri in Tomb xx at Ialyssos[12] (pl. LVII *b*). The perforations in all these gems follow the horizontal axis, and so like the Ialyssos example probably belonged to necklaces.

The same snake-like ritual objects also appear on the gold ring found by Persson in the tholos tomb at Dendra[13] and on a pendant from the Aegina treasure.[14] The association of the goddess with lions and snakes and with the double axe is well known, and the important instances are quoted by Nilsson, to which Evans is adding. These two gems are valuable as showing the goddess with lions, snakes, and the double axe. Evans[15] long ago pointed out that her association

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. x, 20.

[2] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 510 f., figs. 366, 367.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1907, pl. VII,89.

[4] Bossert, *Altkreta*[2], pl. 319 *f*.

[5] Ἐφ Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. x, 9, 10; compare the gem in Berlin, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. E, 19 *a*.

[6] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. x, 20.

[7] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 695, fig. 517.

[8] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 310 ff.

[9] *Palace of Minos*, iv, pp. 168 ff., figs. 133 *b*, *c*. Sir Arthur Evans has kindly given me the reference to this unpublished volume.

[10] Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 8, p. 310, fig. 90.

[11] Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. VI, 5. Dr. Möbius has kindly sent me notes about this and the impression here reproduced.

[12] *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 139, figs. 61, 62. The impression here reproduced I owe to the kindness of Professor Jacopi.

[13] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pl. XVII, p. 55, figs. 33, 34; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[14] *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, p. 54, no. 762, pls. VI, VII.

[15] *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 68.

with lions indicated a connexion with Kybele, and these gems, where the goddess with her guardian lions bears aloft the double axe, make this connexion still more probable, for Suidas[1] says *κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς*. Kybele may therefore mean the goddess of the axe, and though Κυβελη has ε and *κύβηλις* has η, it is to be noted that Herodotus[2] uses Κυβήβη as a variant for Κυβέλη.

The drawing of the lions in these gems is excellent, but the details of the dress are rather too sketchily shown to have any value for details. The heads on both gems, as well as the head on that from the Dictaean Cave, are summarily treated according to a convention of the period, and this confirms their dating to the first half of L.H. II.

The discovery of these two sealstones might well be taken as evidence for the cult of the Goddess of the Double Axe at Mycenae, but fortunately more definite proof was found. Among a pile of stones from previous excavations on the citadel heaped up at the top of the Ramp, Dr. Boethius found a stepped base of stone with a socket-hole in the top (pl. LVII *d*). This is 0·30 m. high, and measures 0·20 m. by 0·19 m. at the base, and at the top 0·125 m. by 0·125 m. As seen in the illustration there are three steps. This base—the first to be found on the Mainland—is similar to those found at many sites in Crete (Knossos, Phaistos, Palaikastro, Gournia, the Dictaean Cave, Hagia Triada, and Tylissos),[3] which from representations such as that on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus[4] have been recognized as bases for erecting a double axe as a cult object. The discovery of these two gems and of this base, coupled with that of the stucco altars[5] from the 'Shrine' in the Palace of Mycenae, is important as proving that when a Cretan cult was imported to the Mainland the accepted cult objects were adopted there also.

The sixth gem, an onyx, no. 36 (pl. XXVIII), shows a recumbent wild goat treated in a sketchy manner. This subject rendered in this style is common, especially in Crete,[6] and the subject is reflected in the carnelian gem from Tomb 529, no. 37 (fig. 44, p. 105), which belonged to the earlier strata of that tomb and so also dates not later than the first half of L.H. II.

Of the six gems from Tomb 518, none probably is to be dated later than L.H. II, for though there was no stratification in the tomb, the pottery with few exceptions was of L.H. I or L.H. II date, and the one decorated L.H. III vase, no. 42 (pl. XLII), belongs to the early part of that period. The button seal of onyx, no. 65 (pl. XXXVIII), showing a boar's tusk helmet with a large crest, recalls a gem from Vaphio which is L.H. II.[7] The seated lion on the agate lentoid, no. 62

[1] *s.v.* Κυβηλίσαι.

[2] V, 102: compare Suidas, *s.v.* *Κυβιστᾶν, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ Κυβήβην λέγουσιν.*

[3] The instances have been collected by Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 183; see *ibid.*, p. 94.

[4] Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, ii, pl. XLIV; see also Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[5] *B. S. A.*, XXV, pp. 224 ff., fig. 42, pl. XXXVII. To the references given add Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1922, pp. 15 ff., fig. 12, for the altars from Nirou Chani.

[6] e.g. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1907, pl. VII, 69, 93.

[7] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. X, 37.

(pl. xxxviii), though rather sketchy in treatment, is noteworthy for the close observation of nature in that the right forepaw is lifted from the ground as he turns his head to the left to reach the wound in his flank. The exergue in this gem is occupied by parallel lines, making a stepped base to which Evans has drawn attention,[1] like those from three of the gems from Tomb 515, nos. 31, 32, 35 (pl. xxviii), which are L.H. II, and so this gem is probably of the same date.

Artistically the best gem is no. 61 (pl. xxxviii), a long tubular carnelian tapering at the ends which are bound with gold. This fashion of binding the ends of a pierced sealstone with gold is not common.[2] The firm but fine lines of the charging bull are drawn with splendid spirit. Only the upper half of the acrobat, who is just accomplishing the feat of bull-leaping[3] by means of a back somersault, can be seen, and he is in about the same position as the acrobat on a gold ring from Arkhanes,[4] which in composition and vigour strikingly resembles this gem. The excellent style of the engraving and the shape[5] of the stone, which seems to belong to L.H. I and II rather than to L.H. III, suggest that this gem dates to L.H. I. Another scene of a bull occurs on the amethyst lentoid, no. 66 (pl. xxxviii), which is slightly damaged in front of the bull. The line above the the bull's back has the appearance of a spear, and the subject may be parallel to that of an agate in Berlin,[6] which shows a wild bull struck by a spear in the neck from behind. The gem in style approaches the cow and calf, Tomb 515, no. 34 (pl. xxviii), and so should probably also be dated to L.H. II.

The small onyx lentoid with the flying dove, no. 63 (pl. xxxviii), anticipates the coin type of Sicyon, and again hints that classical Greek engravers owed several of their subjects[7] and no small part of their skill to their predecessors of the Bronze Age. The remaining gem, no. 64 (pl. xxxviii), an onyx lentoid, shows two birds, perhaps wild geese, apparently fighting in mid air. The representation is very realistic and can be compared to that of the water-birds on the dagger of the Fifth Shaft Grave,[8] but this gem is probably to be dated later, to L.H. II.

Persson in the tholos tombs at Dendra found by the queen's left wrist a lentoid sealstone which she had presumably worn on a band like a wrist watch.[9] This, as he points out, agrees with the Knossian fresco of the Cupbearer who wears on his left wrist a lentoid sealstone of banded agate.[10] As the queen's gem was

[1] *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 695.

[2] See notes 1, 2, p. 60, and other examples in the National Museum, Athens.

[3] Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1921, p. 254, *Palace of Minos*, iii, pp. 218 ff.; compare the seal impression from Knossos, *J. H. S.*, 1921, p. 254, fig. 7 (= *Palace of Minos*, iii, p. 219, fig. 153). The whole subject is discussed in detail by Evans in these two passages.

[4] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, iii, p. 220, fig. 154.

[5] There are several examples from Vaphio, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. x, 12, 22-4, 26 9, 36. The king's gems from Dendra are lentoids, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pl. xix.

[6] Bossert, *Altkreta*[2], fig. 325 *c* (= Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, i, pl. 3, 44).

[7] Cf. Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1912, pp. 294 ff.

[8] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 138, no. 765, pls. xciii, xciv.

[9] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 58.

[10] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii, pl. xii, pp. 705 ff., fig. 441.

perforated along the vertical axis, Persson concludes that lentoid gems so perforated were intended to be worn on the wrist, since they would then be right way up to the wearer. Presumably, therefore, lentoid gems perforated along the horizontal axis, like the Ialyssos gem (pl. LVII *b*) with the goddess and lions,[1] were intended for necklaces. Of the lentoid gems in these tombs it has already been noted that the two with the goddess of the double axe and her lions, Tomb 515, nos. 31, 32 (pl. XXVIII), are perforated along the horizontal axis, and so apparently were meant for use on necklaces. Of the others only one has a horizontal perforation, Tomb 515, no. 36 (pl. XXVIII). With one exception, Tomb 518, no. 64 (pl. XXXVIII), where there is some uncertainty about the position of the design, all the rest, Tomb 515, nos. 33–5 (pl. XXVIII), Tomb 518, nos. 62, 63, 66 (pl. XXXVIII), Tomb 529, no. 37 (fig. 44, p. 105), are perforated along the vertical axis, and so according to Persson would have been worn on the wrist.

Two gems are undoubtedly of L.H. III date. The amygdaloid carnelian from Tomb 504, no. 1 (fig. 6, p. 11), shows a man grappling a bull by the horns, a subject similar to those illustrated by Evans[2] from two gems from Mycenae and a clay sealing from Knossos. It is interesting that in this case there occurs behind the man's head the 'impaled triangle' of which Evans has noted the significance[3] in such associations. The design on the bead seal from Tomb 513, no. 7 (pl. XXV), is apparently a deer, though the tail is too long. The subject in composition recalls that of the gem from Tomb 504, no. 1 (fig. 6, p. 11), but though well conceived is rather sketchily executed, like the wild goats on Tomb 515, no. 36, and Tomb 529, no. 37 (pl. XXVIII, fig. 44, p. 105). The design somewhat resembles that of a late fifth-century scarabaeoid in the British Museum.[4]

The agate lentoid from Tomb 523, no. 9 (pl. XX), was found in a L.H. III context, but it is so worn that it would appear to have been long in use and so it may be of L.H. II date. Certainly the type of the design, two addorsed or affronted quadrupeds, is well known in early gems.[5] The gem from Tomb 505 (p. 18) is too fragmentary to enable its design to be determined.

The only other engraved stone is that from Tomb 523, no. 16 (pl. XX), which has a narrow edging of cuneiform marks all round and within a series of symbols in some form of script. Evans[6] has suggested that it has Hittite affinities and it can be compared with some Hittite seals.[7] Professor Hrozny, however, writes: *Est-il vraiment hittite? Je n'ose pas le dire. En tout cas son écriture a peu à faire avec l'écriture hittite hiéroglyphique. Une autre origine me semble être plus probable.*

[1] See above, p. 200; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 139, figs. 61, 62.

[2] *Palace of Minos*, iii, p. 231, figs. 162, 163, 164 A.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 316 f., figs. 211, 212.

[4] Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vi, p. 851, fig. 432, 10; British Museum, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 67, no. 548, pl. x. Compare the chalcedony, *ibid.*, p. 13, no. 104, pl. II.

[5] Vaphio, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, pl. x, 11; Bossert, *Altkreta*[2], fig. 318 *c* (= Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1907, pl. VII, 103); Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 845, fig. 428 (= Tsountas, Μυκῆναι, pl. v, 6); British Museum, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, p. 8 f. nos. 60, 61, 73, pl. II.

[6] *Times Literary Supplement*, 1922, p. 747.

[7] Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, pp. 47 ff., figs. 45, 47, 30; for the border compare *ibid.*, pl. x, 314, 321.

Professor Goetze of Marburg agrees with this opinion, for he[1] *jede Beziehung zu Hethitischem ablehnt, auch sonst keine Beziehung zu irgendeine orientalischen Schrift kennt. Höchstens kann man dass sich für die Anordnung mehr oder weniger degenerierter Schriftzeichen innerhalb eines Kreises, der dann auch von Keilschriftzeichen umschlossen sein kann, hethitische Analogien finden.* The cuneiform border recalls that on a gem found on the acropolis at Mycenae (pl. xx *a*), with a crude design of three saluting men, between whom two trees appear.[2]

E. Beads.

In the tombs a considerable number of beads of various materials were found, and although no satisfactory discussion[3] or description of prehistoric beads from Crete or the Mainland has yet been attempted, some interesting observations can be made. Although the same types of beads occur in different materials, it seems on the whole simpler to classify them by material.

Amber. Beads of this were common in L.H. I and II tombs like Tomb 515, Tomb 518, and Tomb 529, but they also occurred in small quantities in a few tombs of L.H. III date, and these are tombs which seem on the whole to belong to the earlier stages of that period. To L.H. I or II can be assigned the following: Tomb 515, nos. 28 (pl. xxix), 69, 78, in all twenty-five beads, Tomb 518, no. 69 *a*, *b*, *c* (figs. 33, 34, p. 86), about a hundred and twenty-two, including the engraved amygdaloid bead already discussed,[4] Tomb 529, no. 35, about forty beads. To L.H. III belong three and a fragment from Tomb 517, no. 43 (pl. xxxvi), and three from Tomb 526, no. 5 (pl. ix). Nilsson[5] has already called attention to the fact that amber is as common on the Mainland as it is rare in Crete, and the evidence of these tombs agrees with that from elsewhere collected by him. The lack of amber in L.H. III he attributes to the weakening of the northern connexions. It is possible that something may have happened at this period to interrupt the amber trade route or the use of amber may have gone out of fashion. The amber beads vary considerably in size (see pl. xxix, figs. 34, p. 86) and in shape. Some, such as those from Tomb 517, no. 43 (pl. xxxvi), are distinctly irregular. Irregularity in form may be due to the fact that amber when buried readily decays, but decay cannot cause such marked variation in size. The great difference in size of the amber beads is probably due to the fact that the pieces were shaped,

[1] From a letter from Professor Jacobsthal, who kindly submitted a photograph of the sealstone to Professor Goetze on my behalf.

[2] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 5409.

[3] It has not proved practicable to adopt the nomenclature and classification of beads put forward by Beck, *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, pp. 1 ff.

[4] See p. 197, Tomb 518, no. 69 *a*, fig. 33, p. 86.

[5] *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 17 ff.

bored, and polished as they were found, and that the Mycenaeans valued large pieces of amber and so did not cut them, preferring a few large pieces to a greater number of smaller pieces of uniform size. The majority can be described as conoid, discoid, spheroid, ovoid, &c., or else like those from Tomb 517, no. 43 (pl. xxxvi), as irregular.

Bronze. One spherical bronze bead was found in Tomb 526, no. 6 (pl. ix). Since it is associated with the two scarabs of the time of Amenhotep III,[1] it may therefore be considered as belonging in all probability to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Another spherical bronze bead was found in Tomb 515, no. 40 (pl. xxx), which is probably to be dated to L.H. II.

Faience. The material is probably not always true faience but frit (glass paste) or a composition much resembling it. Three tombs yielded such spherical or spheroid beads, Tomb 515, no. 71 *c*, 79 *e*, three beads from the chamber and pit, Tomb 517, no. 33 (pl. xxxv), four beads from the pit in the chamber and no. 48 (pl. xxxvi), one bead found with skeleton no. xi, Tomb 518, no. 71 *e*, *f* (pl. viii), eighty-two beads. The majority of those from Tomb 518 probably date from L.H. II, as also presumably do four of those from Tomb 517, no. 33, which were found with the earliest relics in the tomb. The other bead from Tomb 517, no. 48, was found with skeleton no. xi, and so probably dates from before the end of the fourteenth century, as skeleton no. x, which was earlier, was associated with a stirrup-vase, Tomb 517, no. 41 (pl. xxxiv), of Tell-el-Amarna style. The examples from Tomb 515, nos. 71 *c* and 79 *e*, cannot be dated by their stratification. At any rate it would appear that beads of this substance are not likely to be later than the fourteenth century, and if many are found together they probably belong to L.H. II. Two main types occur in beads of this material, ribbed spherical or spheroid beads such as have been found previously at Mycenae and elsewhere,[2] and small spherical or spheroid beads with smooth surfaces (this was the common shape). In Tomb 518, no. 71 *d* (pl. viii), there was one small bead round and flat like a washer.

Two beads of unusual shape come from Tomb 526, one, no. 7 *e* (pl. ix), shaped like a miniature mace-head which seems to have no parallels, the other, no. 7 *g* (pl. ix), lantern or wheel-shaped. This latter is an exceptional specimen, and from the parallels quoted above[3] it will be seen that the faience beads are substitutes for the more precious golden beads. This shape probably belongs to the latter part of L.H. II and the beginning of L.H. III. This suggestion is supported by the date of the scarabs found with this bead in Tomb 526, nos. 1, 2.[4] The type is known in Egypt,[5] where, Mr. Glanville informs me, it occurs only about the Amarna period.[6] It is not very common in Egypt, and so if the type does not belong to the Mainland, it may have reached both Mycenae and

[1] See pp. 93, 198, pl. ix.
[2] See p. 207, note 6, for gold beads of this type.
[3] p. 94.
[4] See pp. 93, 198.
[5] Leemans, *Mon. Egypt.*, ii, pl. xxxvii; 103.
[6] Compare three beads from Tell-el-Amarna, British Museum, no. 57425.

Egypt from the same source, perhaps Syria, since one seems to have been found at Ras Shamra.[1]

Two classes of beads, those of amygdaloid[2] shape, Tomb 502, no. 29 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* (pl. XIII), twenty-seven, Tomb 520, no. 41 *e* (fig. 12, p. 27), seventeen, and those shaped like grains of wheat,[3] Tomb 515, nos. 71 *a*, 79 *b*, six, Tomb 517, no. 34 *a*, one, no. 47 *a*, two (pls. XXXV, XXXVI), Tomb 520, no. 41 *f* (fig. 12, p. 27), three, Tomb 523, no. 10 (pl. XX), eleven, are of glass paste (frit) not easily distinguishable from inferior faience, especially when denatured after long burial. Beads of these shapes are common in Late Helladic tombs and seem to have been specially popular in L.H. III. They seem at times to have been covered with gold leaf[4] as substitutes for golden beads of these types.[5] The use of substitutes does not of course imply a decline in culture.[6] This fact, that they were covered with gold leaf, may account for the poor surface which most of them have, although it does not follow that every bead of these types was covered with gold leaf. Many of them may have had the usual glazed surface of the Minoan and Mycenaean faience, like the examples from Tomb 523, no. 10, which are coated with blue glaze.

Glass. The glass of which these beads are made does not seem to be particularly clear or pure, but is rather cloudy in appearance, and with the inevitable decomposition of the material owing to their burial in the earth, it is not always easy to distinguish glass beads from beads of frit (glass paste) or decayed faience.

Shape. The commonest shape is naturally the spherical, and beads of this shape of all sizes and colours occur in many tombs: Tomb 514, no. 2 *a*, twenty-eight, Tomb 515, nos. 30 *a*, *b*, 45 (pl. XXX), 71 *b*, twenty, Tomb 517, nos. 34 *f*, 47 *b*, *c*, *d*, 50, seventeen (pls. XXXV, XXXVI), Tomb 518, no. 71 *a*, *b*, seven (pl. VIII), Tomb 519, no. 16, one, Tomb 520, nos. 36 *a*, 41 *c*, ten (figs. 11, 12, pp. 26, 27), Tomb 521, no. 11, two, Tomb 523, no. 13, two (pl. XX), Tomb 524, no. 31, one hundred and ten, Tomb 526, no. 7 *a*, *b*, *f*, *i*, twenty-nine (pl. IX), Tomb 529, no. 38, seven. Closely allied to this shape are the spheroid beads, Tomb 502, no. 29 *h*, three (pl. XIII), Tomb 518, no. 71 *c*, two (pl. VIII). Tomb 524, no. 32, one, and those of similar shape but with flattened ends, Tomb 502, no. 29 *f*, one (pl. XIII), Tomb 517, no.

[1] *Syria*, xiii, pl. IX, 2.

[2] Compare Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 30, C 18, p. 39, 4 (5), p. 41 (8), p. 106 (47, 49); Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pls. A, 8, B, 25; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, pp. 149, 157, figs. 71, 82.

[3] Compare Mycenae Tomb 58, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2813, Tomb of Genii, *B.S.A.*, xxv, p. 380, 382 (nos. 4537 *a*, 4539), figs. 88 *a*, 88 *o*; Menidi, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1993; Dimeni, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3368; Phaistos, *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 141, fig. 100 *c*; Dendra, Persson, *op. cit.*, p. 27, B 2, p. 30, C 18, p. 39, 4 (5), p. 41 (8), p. 106 (48); Ialyssos, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, pls. A, 2, B, 24.

[4] e.g. *B.S.A.*, xxv, pp. 380, 381, no. 4537 *a*, fig. 88 *o*; *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 138, no. 14, 3634, p. 165, no. 31, 3563.

[5] e.g. Persson, *op. cit.*, p. 29, C 7; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 183, no. 10, fig. 132, 4; *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, no. 578 (from Tomb 79, Enkomi), pl. IV, no. 678. There are also two gold grain of wheat beads from Mycenae in the British Museum.

[6] See p. 222.

34 *c*, *d*, seventeen (pl. xxxv), Tomb 520, nos. 36 *d*, 41 *a*, *b*, twenty-six (figs. 11, 12, pp. 26, 27), Tomb 523, no. 11, two (pl. xx), Tomb 526, no. 7 *c*, *d*, two (pl. ix). Tubular and multitubular beads are not rare, Tomb 502, no. 29 *l*, one (pl. xiii), Tomb 516, no. 5 *a*, *b*, *c*, fourteen (fig. 25, p. 66), Tomb 517, nos. 34 *b*, 47 *e*, two (pls. xxxv, xxxvi), Tomb 521, no. 12, one, Tomb 523, no. 14, one (pl. xx), Tomb 526, no. 7 *h*, and small flat round beads shaped like washers occur, Tomb 502, no. 29 *i*, four (pl. xiii), Tomb 513, no. 6 *a*, *b*, eighty-seven (pl. xxv), Tomb 520, no. 41 *d*, twenty (fig. 12, p. 27). Less common are lentoid beads, Tomb 502, no. 29 *m*, two (pl. xiii), Tomb 517, no. 34 *h*, one (pl. xxxv); oval and ovoid beads, Tomb 502, no. 29 *g*, *j*, five (pl. xiii), Tomb 517, no. 34 *g*, one (pl. xxxv), Tomb 520, no. 36 *c*, two (fig. 16, p. 26); and pear-shaped, Tomb 514, no. 2 *b*, one, Tomb 517, no. 34 *e*, one (pl. xxxv), Tomb 530, no. 19, one; or torpedo-shaped beads, Tomb 519, no. 18, one. These two latter forms should perhaps be classed as pendants rather than as beads. There was only one example, Tomb 520, no. 36 *b* (fig. 11, p. 26), of a bead shaped like two cones set base to base. The bead of four lobes, Tomb 515, no. 79 *d*, the only example of its kind, is, as noted,[1] a substitute for a gold bead of this type.

So far as can be seen with the information at present available, it does not seem possible to date any particular shape of bead among those just given, as characteristic of any one of the three phases of the Late Helladic period, and they have been found at many sites. The group of beads from the pit with the female skeleton no. 1 in Tomb 516, no. 5 *a*, *b*, *c* (fig. 25, p. 66), can, however, be dated both by its own context and by the associations of similar beads found by Schliemann in the First Shaft Grave.[2] These beads comprise three types, (*a*) tubular beads, rather short and thick in their proportions, (*b*) multitubular beads, of a type which according to Beck[3] occurs in the Twelfth Dynasty in Egypt, and (*c*) ornaments of tubular shape with flat backs and two perforations, having on the front the appearance of two ribbed spheroid beads cast side by side in one piece. This last type would also presumably be classed by Beck as a multiple bead, and may therefore be considered akin to the multitubular beads. This group was found with L.H. I pottery, and the same applies to the similar beads from the First Shaft Grave which held the bodies of three women, and we therefore may consider these types of tubular and multitubular beads as characteristic of L.H. I.

Decoration. The decoration of the glass beads is in one way determined by the shape, especially if the bead be amygdaloid[4] or shaped like a grain of wheat.[5] Another type of decoration is ribbing,[6] usually vertical, Tomb 517, no. 34 *f*, *g*, Tomb 518, no. 71 *c*, Tomb 520, no. 41 *a* (pls. xxxv, viii, fig. 12, p. 27). The other main form of decoration is given by colour. The simplest form of course is one plain colour, and

[1] See above, p. 62.

[2] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 69, no. 209, pl. cl. Eight multitubular beads with three sections each were found in the Tomb of Genii, *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 383, fig. 89 *o*, p. 384, 4542 *n*.

[3] *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, p. 14, fig. 15, A, 2, *c*.

[4] See above, p. 206.

[5] See above, p. 206.

[6] Ribbed gold beads are frequent, *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, no. 578 (Tomb 79, Enkomi), pl. iv, no. 760 (Aegina Treasure), pl. vi; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 150, fig. 135 (Palaikastro).

beads of this type are perhaps the commonest. Blue, grey-black, white, and yellow are the usual colours. A variation of this type is the striped or streaky bead formed by applying a thread of a different coloured glass to the main body, Tomb 517, no. 34 *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*, Tomb 523, no. 14 (pls. xxxv, xx). This thread may be curled in a spiral or waved. The presence of beads with this form of ornament in the pit in Tomb 517 suggests that they might be dated generally to L.H. I or II, although one streaked bead was found in Tomb 523, no. 14 (pl. xx), which is L.H. III in date.

Another type represented by several fine beads in Tomb 526, no. 7 *b* (pl. ix), is the eye bead. These are beads of a yellow body colour with white eyes impressed in them. The eyes are formed by spirals, which in one case are connected into a design. These belong to the type called flush spot eye beads by Beck,[1] who gives an example of the XVIIIth Dynasty. From their association with the two scarabs of Amenhotep III's reign, Tomb 526, nos. 1, 2 (pl. ix), these eye beads may also be Egyptian, though they might well be of local fabric, since the Mycenaeans were so familiar with the use and making of glass.

Gold. For beads of this metal, see above, p. 192.

Stone. A considerable number of stone beads was found, and the following are the main varieties of stones represented.

Agate. Two lentoid beads of this stone, which was often used for engraved gems, were found in Tomb 518, no. 68 *c* (pl. viii), and one amygdaloid in Tomb 526, no. 4 *f* (pl. ix).

Amethyst: spherical beads, Tomb 502, no. 30, one (pl. xiii), Tomb 515, nos. 29 *a*, *b* (pl. xxix), 41 (pl. xxx), 70, 77, twenty-four, Tomb 516, no. 12, one, Tomb 517, nos. 37 *b*, 39, four (pl. xxxv), Tomb 518, no. 68 *h*, *i*, two (pl. viii), amygdaloid, Tomb 517, no. 37 *d*, one (pl. xxxv), Tomb 518, no. 68 *g*, one (pl. viii); miscellanous, flattened, Tomb 517, no. 37 *c*, two (pl. xxxv). Except for the one bead in Tomb 502, no. 30, it will be seen that all these beads come from tombs like Tomb 518, which have definite L.H. I or II associations, or else actually from the L.H. I and II strata of tombs like Tomb 517 and Tomb 515. From this evidence it would appear that beads of amethyst, a material which presumably was imported from Egypt, hardly occur later than L.H. II, and that they therefore begin in L.H. I, but seem to have been most popular in L.H. II.[2]

Carnelian. This material was very popular for beads of various shapes, Tomb 515, no. 44, one (pl. xxx), Tomb 517, nos. 42 *c*, 45, thirty (pl. xxxvi), Tomb 518, nos. 67, 68 *a*, *d*–*f*, eighteen (pl. viii), Tomb 524, no. 28 *a*, *b*, three, Tomb 526, no. 4 *a*, *b*, five (pl. ix), Tomb 529, no. 36 *a*, *b*, fourteen (pl. viii). The shapes represented are: spherical, Tomb 518, no. 68 *d* (pl. viii), Tomb 524, no. 28 *b*, Tomb 526, no. 4 *a* (pl. ix); lentoid, Tomb 518, no. 68 *f* (pl. viii); amygdaloid,[3] Tomb 518, no. 67

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, p. 63, fig. 57.

[2] Many amethysts were found at Vaphio and Kakovatos (see p. 53), and in Tomb 17 at Thebes, which seems to have been first used in L.H. II, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 172, fig. 126.

[3] Compare the similar carnelian beads from Ialyssos, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. b, 13.

(pl. VIII), Tomb 524, no. 28 *a*, Tomb 526, no. 4 *b* (pl. IX), two; tubular, Tomb 517, no. 42 *c* (pl. XXXVI), Tomb 518, no. 68 *e* (pl. VIII); biconoid, like two cones set base to base, Tomb 515, no. 44 (pl. XXX); oval, Tomb 518, no. 68 *a* (pl. VIII), Tomb 529, no. 36 *a* (pl. XXXVI); pear-shaped pendants, Tomb 529, no. 36 *b* (pl. VIII); and rough, practically unshaped beads, Tomb 517, no. 45 (pl. VIII). These last, the rough beads, were found with skeleton no. XI in Tomb 517, and this skeleton lay above skeleton no. X, which was associated with a stirrup-vase of Tell-el-Amarna style, Tomb 517, no. 41 (pl. XXXIV), and they might therefore be considered as definitely of L.H. III date. Similar beads were found in the Treasury of Atreus and in the Tomb of Genii, again in L.H. III contexts,[1] and in Tomb 2 at Dendra,[2] which is also of L.H. III date. There are other similar beads from Mycenae at Athens.[3]

A group of beads which seems capable of fairly definite dating consists of the oval beads from Tomb 518, no. 68 *a*, Tomb 529, no. 36 *a*, and the pear-shaped pendants from the latter tomb, Tomb 529, no. 36 *b* (pl. VIII). These pear-shaped pendants closely resemble carnelian beads found by Schliemann in the Third Shaft Grave[4] and may therefore be dated to L.H. I. The oval beads from Tomb 529 were also, like the pear-shaped pendants, found in the lowest and earliest layer of the tomb, and so may be assigned to the same period. The Third Shaft Grave contained the bodies of three women, and so the similar beads from Tomb 529, no. 36 *b*, with the oval beads, Tomb 529, no. 36 *a*, might be assigned to skeleton no. II or no. III, which were those of women. Tomb 518 first began to be used in L.H. I, and was in constant use down to the beginning of L.H. III, and so the oval beads from it may also be considered as not later than L.H. II.

Crystal. A few beads of white rock crystal were found, Tomb 517, nos. 37 *a*, 42 *a*, *b*, 44, thirty-three (pls. XXXV, XXXVI), Tomb 520, no. 46, one (fig. 11, p. 26), Tomb 526, no. 4 *e*, one (pl. IX). Twenty-eight of these were found with skeleton no. XI in Tomb 517, and must therefore be of L.H. III date, but one crystal bead was found with the L.H. I and II pottery in the pit in the same tomb. Similar beads were found at Salamis.[5] The main shape is spherical, but oval examples also occur.

Onyx. This stone so popular for engraved gems does not often occur in the form of plain beads, Tomb 515, nos. 42, 43, two (pl. XXX), Tomb 518, no. 68 *b*, one (pl. VIII), Tomb 526, no. 4 *c*, *d*, six (pl. IX). Among these few the shapes represented are spherical, lentoid, and tubular. The finest of all the beads are the spherical and lentoid[6] examples from Tomb 515, nos. 42, 43, which are both of the first quality.

[1] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 355 (93), fig. 75 *o*, p. 357 (6), fig. 76 *c*, *d*, p. 383, 4542 *a*.
[2] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 107, no. 53.
[3] Nat. Mus., no. 2352.
[4] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 58, no. 114, pl. XXV.
[5] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3628.
[6] Compare the fine unengraved lentoid bead from a chamber tomb in Laconia, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, X, Παράρτημα, p. 43, fig. 3.

Steatite. One ribbed spherical bead of this stone was in Tomb 526, no. 4 *i* (pl. IX). *Miscellaneous Stones.* Five beads of dark speckled stone came from Tomb 526, no. 4 *g*, *h* (pl. IX), four were spherical and one oval. Two beads of indeterminate stones were found, Tomb 518, no. 72, Tomb 519, no. 19.

F. Ivory, Bone, and Boar's Tusks.

A considerable number of objects, mostly fragmentary, of ivory or bone was found in the tombs, and since so many pieces were discovered, and since ivory at least is fragile and easily perishes, it may be concluded that tombs like Tomb 518 and Tomb 529 must originally have contained many more offerings of these materials. Tombs at Mycenae have proved rich in ivories, but the majority of the objects are carved,[1] and so like the carved ivories from the Spata[2] and Menidi[3] tombs should presumably be assigned to L.H. III. Our ivories all came from the Kalkani cemetery, and principally from Tomb 518 and Tomb 529, which were first used in L.H. I, or from Tomb 520, which was constructed at the beginning of L.H. III. The objects of bone were all found in tombs of L.H. III date, but the worked boar's tusks from helmets all come from the early strata of tombs constructed in L.H. I or II, Tomb 515, Tomb 517, and Tomb 518.

1. *Ivory.*

Comb. Three were found, all fragmentary, Tomb 518, nos. 57 (fig. 32, p. 85), 58, Tomb 529, no. 33 (fig. 42, p. 105). These combs, like that from the Third Shaft Grave,[4] are made of two or more pieces of ivory set side by side to form one long comb. As seen in the illustrations, each separate piece has a socket at the top and in the corner for the insertion of another piece of ivory to fasten two sections together. Possibly these combs, like the Shaft Grave example, also once had their upper edges bound with thin sheet gold. Tsountas found a comb at Mycenae in Tomb 5,[5] and other examples[6] are known, notably one each from Spata[7] and from Troy.[8]

Disc. Several discs, none of any great size, were found, Tomb 513, no. 5 *a*, *b*, two

[1] See the examples illustrated by Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. VIII.

[2] *B. C. H.*, 1878, pls. XIII–XVIII.

[3] Lolling, *Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, pls. VI–IX.

[4] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 310, p. 84, pl. XLIII. This comb is now given to the Fourth Shaft Grave, but Schliemann found it in the Third, a grave which held the bodies of three women, a much more likely provenance, Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 203.

[5] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 138.

[6] For instance in Tomb 3 at Thebes, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 88, fig. 63, and at Ialyssos, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. C, 4.

[7] *B. C. H.*, 1878, pl. XVII.

[8] Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, i. p. 399, fig. 389; compare Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 103.

(pl. xxv), Tomb 519, nos. 12, 13, five, Tomb 520, no. 45, one (fig. 12, p. 27), Tomb 523, no. 15, three (pl. xx), Tomb 530, no. 18. All of these, except one from Tomb 513, no. 5 *b*, are engraved with rosette patterns. Four of the rosettes, the two from Tomb 513, no. 5 *a*, *b*, one from Tomb 519, no. 13, and that from Tomb 520, no. 45, are pierced through the centre as though they had been fastened as ornaments to a background of some kind, possibly a wooden casket. The unpierced rosettes might possibly have been glued to a wooden ground as decoration, or could even perhaps have served as pieces for playing a game like draughts.

Handle or Leg. A piece of worked ivory, which might have been used either as a handle or as a leg for a small casket, was found in the lower strata of Tomb 529, no. 34 (fig. 43, p. 105). It is horn-shaped with a blunt point at one end and at the other a pierced tenon to insert into a socket. No similar object of the period seems to be known.

Inlay. An important and interesting example of ivory inlay was found in Tomb 518, no. 54 (fig. 30, p. 84), and, as explained above,[1] we were able in excavating it to keep the separate pieces in their correct places as regards one another. If the relative positions of the pieces had not been noted while they were still *in situ* in the tomb, one would have hesitated to group the two spirals in this way with the dog-tooth or notched pieces. The whole probably decorated one side of a wooden box with ivory inlay similar in character to one from the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth at Knossos.[2] In shape and size it recalls the carved ivory plaques that formed the sides of the draught box from Enkomi.[3] The spiral is, of course, of frequent occurrence in all forms of art at Mycenae and other Mainland sites in L.H. times. In the Tomb of Aegisthus[4] were notched pieces of ivory which to judge by this example probably once formed part of a wooden box. Pieces of other shapes, probably also used for inlaying, were found at Argos,[5] and at Spata.[6] The fragmentary ivory bars from Tomb 519, no. 14 *a*, were also probably employed in a similar manner.

Mirror Handle. Two fragments, probably the remains of an ivory mirror handle, were found in Tomb 515, no. 68. It would have been of the same type as that from the Fifth Shaft Grave,[7] those from the Tomb of Clytemnestra,[8] from Tombs 2 and 55 at Mycenae,[9] from Knossos,[10] from Enkomi,[11] and elsewhere.

Plaque. A fragment of a plaque was found in Tomb 519, no. 14 *b*. Since it was found with some ivory bars (Tomb 519, no. 14 *a*), it may, like them, have been used for inlaying or covering a wooden box.

[1] p. 84. [2] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 44, fig. 40.
[3] Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 228, fig. 302.
[4] *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 303.
[5] *B. C. H.*, 1904, p. 384, 5, fig. 20 (1). [6] *Ibid.*, 1878, pls. xiii, xv, 1, pp. 204 ff.
[7] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, no. 785, p. 141 f., figs. 58, 59, pl. cxxxvi.
[8] *B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 368 ff., pl. lix.
[9] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 172, pls. viii, 3, ix, 19 *α*, *β*; Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 188, fig. 84; Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2899.
[10] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 64, fig. 69.
[11] Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 228, fig. 302.

Pyxis. In Tomb 518, nos. 55, 56 (fig. 31, p. 85), were found fragments of four ivory pyxides. They were circular and apparently undecorated. There was no trace of the bases or lids. As the ivory is very thin, like the pyxis fragments from the First Shaft Grave,[1] it may have served, as Karo suggests, to cover a round wooden pyxis. A somewhat similarly shaped pyxis was found by Tsountas in Tomb 15 at Mycenae,[2] and there are other examples from there and elsewhere.[3] The later pyxides are usually carved,[4] like those represented in wall paintings, as at Tiryns[5] and Thebes.[6] The carved ivory disc from Tomb 520, no. 44 (fig. 14, p. 28), probably formed the lid[7] for a round pyxis of this type. The holes round the edge of this ivory lid show that it was fastened to a backing, probably of wood, a circumstance which supports Karo's suggestion already quoted. The pattern which encircles the central rosette is called by Evans the 'whorl shell' motive,[8] which, as seen by the parallels quoted above,[9] is not uncommon on the Mainland in L.H. II and III at least.

Rod. An unusual object is the ivory rod from the earlier strata of Tomb 529, no. 32, the purpose of which cannot be as yet satisfactorily explained. Ivory needles have been found in Tomb 5 at Thebes.[10]

2. *Bone.*

Pin. In four tombs fragmentary pins of this material were found, Tomb 519, no. 15, Tomb 521, no. 13, Tomb 524, no. 29, Tomb 532, no. 21. They are all of L.H. III date.[11]

3. *Boar's Tusks.*

In three tombs were found pieces of worked boar's tusks, Tomb 515, nos. 22, 46 (pls. XXIX, XXX), Tomb 517, no. 36 (pl. XXXV), Tomb 518, no. 59 (pl. XXXVII).

These may be classified in two ways, by the manner in which they are pierced and by their shapes.

Those from Tomb 518 are all bored straight through from back to front with two holes at each end like some of the examples from the Fourth Shaft Grave.[12]

[1] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 69, no. 210, pl. CL.

[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, p. 142, Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2414.

[3] Compare Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2635.

[4] For instance, Athens, Nat. Mus., nos. 2447, 2465, 2476, and two from Menidi, Lolling, *Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, pls. VII, VIII.

[5] Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii, pl. X, 3.

[6] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 339. Compare, too, the pyxis from Minet-el-Beida, *Syria*, x, pl. LVI.

[7] Compare the example from Spata, *B. C. H.*, 1878, pl. XIV, 1.

[8] *Palace of Minos*, ii, p. 641, note 1.

[9] See p. 28.

[10] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 136, fig. 100.

[11] A bone needle was found in the Fifth Shaft Grave, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 155, no. 898, pl. LXXI, and bone pins are often found in Late Helladic tombs.

[12] Karo, *op. cit.*, p. 112, nos. 521–31, pls. LXIX, LXX. From the presence in Tomb 6, a Middle Helladic cist tomb, at Eleusis (Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, pp. 55, 145, fig. 119), in House E at Eutresis, which was in the second Middle Helladic layer (Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 220, fig. 290, pp. 52 ff.), and in the Fourth Shaft Grave and in Tomb 518 of tusks pierced in this way, it might be thought that

On the other hand those from Tombs 515 and 517 are pierced obliquely through the under edges at the sides, as are other examples from Mycenae and elsewhere. The holes are not at the ends of each piece, but there are two or three in each of the long sides, Tomb 515, nos. 22, 46 (pls. XXIX, XXX).

In shape they may be grouped as follows:

A. 1. Most are curved in the original shape of the tusk and are cut off straight at each end (pls. XXIX, XXXVIII).

2. A variety of this type has one pointed and one straight end (pl. XXX).

B. A number are rectangular in plan, but vary much in size, so much so that a regular graduated series can be formed from them (pl. XXXVIII).

C. There are two exceptional shapes: 1. Triangular pieces, quite small (pl. XXX).

2. A piece cut in the form of a double curl, like a pair of horns, from Tomb 518, no. 59 (pl. XXXVIII).

These boar's tusks were long ago connected by Reichel[1] with the well-known Homeric passage describing the helmet lent by Meriones to Odysseus:

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
ῥινοῦ ποιητήν· πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἱμᾶσιν
ἐντέτατο στερεῶς· ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες
ἀργιόδοντος ὑὸς θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως· μέσση δ' ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρει.

K. 261–5.

and were rightly recognized by him as having served to protect or to armour, so to speak, such helmets of leather. His view has been universally accepted[2] and the list of representations of such helmets has steadily increased. The following are the more important:

Carved Ivory. The heads of warriors from a box-lid from Tomb 27 at Mycenae,[3] and similar heads from Spata[4] and from Enkomi.[5]

this was an older (M.H. and L.H. I–II) type, and that the other method was of L.H. II–III date, but Professor Blegen kindly informs me that he has found the presumed older type in L.H. III tombs at the Argive Heraion. The discovery of worked boar's tusks in Middle Helladic contexts at Eleusis and Eutresis supports Nilsson's view (*Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 19 f.) that they are characteristic of the Mainland rather than of Crete.

[1] *Homerische Waffen*[2], pp. 101 ff. To his list of sites where they have been found should be added the Argive Heraion, Asine (*Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pp. 46, 48), Kakovatos (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 292), Knossos (Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 67), Dendra (Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 103), Eleusis (Mylonas, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*), and Eutresis, where examples of the curved and rectangular types pierced through from front to back were found in House E which belongs to the second Middle Helladic period, though altered subsequently (Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 220, fig. 290, pp. 52 ff.). Some were also found in the Shaft Grave below the granary at Mycenae, *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 56 f., fig. 14. The objects in glass from the Tholos Tomb at Dendra, which Persson in error took to be copies of boar's tusks, are discussed above, p. 193.

[2] Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 19 f.; Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, pp. 661 ff.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pp. 146, 165, pl. VIII, 12.

[4] *B. C. H.*, 1878, pl. XVIII, 2.

[5] Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. II.

Frescoes from Mycenae.[1]
Gems from Mycenae, Tomb 518, no. 65 (pl. XXXVIII), and from Vaphio.[2]
Silver vase from the Fifth Shaft Grave, Mycenae.[3]

From these illustrations, and from the shapes of the actual pieces of worked tusks which have now been found at so many sites, it seems obvious that the curved tusks with straight ends (A. 1) were set in several horizontal rows round a helmet, and that the successive rows curved alternately to the right or left as indicated by the Homeric ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. The curved pieces with one straight and one pointed end (A. 2) would naturally form the topmost row at the peak of the conical helmet or cap. The triangular pieces (C. 1) would have been used to fill in gaps. The rectangular pieces (B), which naturally fall automatically into graduated series, would have covered the cheek pieces. One of the longest of the rectangular pieces from Tomb 518 (see pl. XXXVIII) has a pair of holes bored through the middle of one side, in addition to the usual pair of holes at each end. This pair of holes in the middle of one side fits over the pair of holes at one end of a tusk in the lowest horizontal row on the helmet proper. This circumstance seems to support the suggestion that the rectangular pieces covered the cheek pieces.

Following these ideas we have attempted, with the tusks from Tomb 518, a reconstruction of such a helmet on a backing of modern felt (pl. XXXVIII). There were not enough tusks to complete it and naturally the positions of none of them are certain. It is possible that, in order to avoid a gap between two horizontal rows, the upper ends of the bottom row ought to be overlapped by the lower ends of the row immediately above. This arrangement would give a series of raised bands round the helmet, and correspond perhaps to those visible in the illustrations, especially on the carved ivory heads. Otherwise the bottom of one row and the top of another might be covered with leather bands encircling the helmet. The exceptional piece (C. 2) with a pair of curls or horns has been placed on the top of the helmet, for its shape suggests the crest seen in some of the illustrations.[4] It is of course possible that much larger crests were used on more elaborately made helmets of this type. The illustrations and the tusks available, especially those from the Fourth Shaft Grave and from Tomb 518, and our tentative reconstruction give all that can so far be known about the actual form of such helmets. Until the complete remains of one are found *in situ* in an intact burial no certainty is obtainable.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, pl. XII; *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 225, pl. XXXVII *a*.
[2] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1889, p. 169 f., pl. X, 37.
[3] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 119, no. 605, pl. CXXXI.
[4] For instance the gem from Tomb 518, no. 65, pl. XXXVIII.

G. Terra-cotta Figurines.

Not many figurines of terra-cotta were found, and nearly all of the human and animal figurines are of the usual Mycenaean (Late Helladic) types which were first made known by Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae.[1]

I. *Human.*

A. *Female*: with arms folded across the chest, with a polos on the head, and often with the hair plastically rendered, Tomb 502, no. 3 *a*, Tomb 504, nos. 3 to 8 (pl. xv), Tomb 524, no. 26 *a* (pl. xxii), Tomb 525, no. 11. Sometimes, as in Tomb 525, no. 13 (pl. xlv), the hair is merely indicated by paint. These figurines usually have a hollow columnar stem, but sometimes the stem is solid.

B. *Female*: with round or oval body, with arms not indicated, although the breasts often are, and with the hair often rendered plastically in a plait down the back, Tomb 521, no. 9 (pl. xix), Tomb 524, nos. 25 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, 26 *b* (pls. xxii, xxiii), Tomb 527, nos. 8, 19 (pl. xlvii), and two others from Tomb 522 (p. 34). These usually have a solid columnar stem. A slight variety is shown by Tomb 525, no. 12 (pl. xlv), in which the hair is not indicated.

C. *Female*: with semicircular body, with upturned crescent arms, with the hair rendered plastically, with a polos on the head, with solid columnar stem, Tomb 502, no. 3 *b*, Tomb 519, nos. 5 to 10 (pl. xliv), Tomb 524, no. 27 (pls. xxii, xxiii). The one variation is shown by Tomb 504, no. 2 (pl. xv), which has a hollow stem and the hair indicated by paint.

These figurines with the fragments from Tomb 505 (p. 18) are undoubtedly of L.H. III date, for they were all found in tombs which yielded nothing but L.H. III pottery. Their purpose has not yet been satisfactorily explained. They seem to occur in tombs as well as in inhabited sites, and the suggestion which has been made that one type with crescent arms may have been intended for funeral use and the others for household purposes[2] does not, as Persson[3] has pointed out, seem to be justified. Also as regards their date there is no evidence from these tombs to show which type is the earlier, although the finds from Zygouries suggest that Types A and B are older than Type C, the crescent type.[4]

To these figurines from the tombs can be added an interesting variant (fig. 50), probably of Type C, found on the acropolis of Mycenae in the L.H. III deposit between the west wall of the South House and the acropolis wall.[5] Unfortunately only the upper part of the torso is preserved, 0·0675 m. high. The narrow waist is encircled by a belt. The breasts which are plastically rendered are marked by three concentric circles of paint. The hair is shown as a series of ringlets, of

[1] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pls. xvi–xix, a, b, c.

[2] Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 205 f.

[3] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 85. He thinks they may be compared with the *ushabtis* of the Egyptian Tombs, *ibid.*, p. 89.

[4] Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[5] *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 96.

which eight hang down the chest and many more down the back. There seems to be a necklace. The arms were plastically modelled and held outwards and upwards, perhaps in crescent form, and something may have been held on the

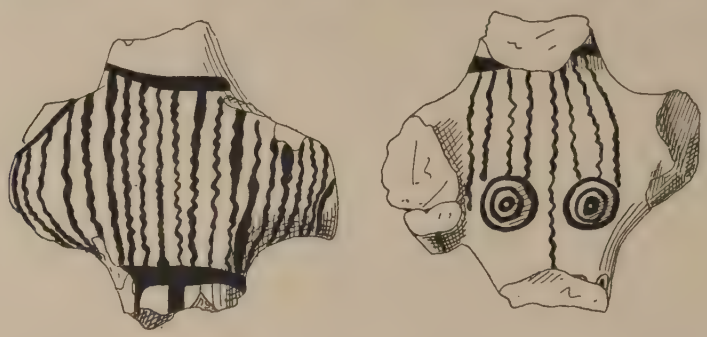

Fig. 50. Mycenae, Acropolis, Terra-cotta Figurine (scale 2:3). L.H. III.

right arm. Though better made, this may have resembled one of the female figurines from the shrine at Asine.[1]

II. *Animal.*

Oxen. These are ordinary conventionalized representations of oxen with long bodies, pointed legs, and cylindrical heads with horns. The best examples are from Tomb 527, nos. 7, 18 (pls. XXIII, XLVII), and others in poor condition or fragmentary were found in Tomb 505 (p. 18), Tomb 519, no. 11, Tomb 522 (p. 34), Tomb 531, no. 5. Similar figurines have been found at many sites and all are of L.H. III date. In addition to these usual figurines of oxen two remarkable specimens were found in Tomb 513, nos. 3, 4, which represent men driving oxen (pl. XXIV). The ox itself is similar to those from Tomb 527, nos. 7, 18, and on its hind quarters is perched an abbreviated figure of a man with short stumpy arms, a bird-like head, a short body, and no legs. A long bar of clay runs from him to the forehead of the ox and presumably indicates the reins. The man was probably meant to be regarded as driving a chariot or plough drawn by an ox, and the coroplast for technical convenience adopted this shorthand method of expression. No similar figurines from elsewere seem to be recorded, but Professor A. B. Cook has kindly allowed me to illustrate from his collection a figurine (pl. XXIV *a*) which resembles these.[2] The figurine which is said to have come from Argolis is 0·10 m. high and is unmistakably of L.H. III date and fabric. The biscuit is covered with a pale buff slip which is decorated with glaze paint shading from red to deep brown. It represents a pair of horses harnessed to a chariot in which two persons, apparently men, are riding. The figurine is constructed in the same shorthand manner as the two from Tomb 513, nos. 3, 4 (pl. XXIV). The pair of horses is represented by one horse with two heads. The chariot has no pole,

[1] Persson, *Asine*, p. 75, fig. 41; Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pl. IV.

[2] See also *B. M. Cat. Terracottas*, pp. 4, 71, A 22 (Enkomi, Tomb 93), B 2 (Ialyssos, Tomb 5).

wheels, or floor, but the front part of the body is seen attached to the hind quarters of the horses, and in the body stand two abbreviated figures of men with bird-like faces. The reins are not indicated. This coalescence of the horses, the chariot, and its two passengers forms an excellent parallel to the combination of the ox and its driver seen in the two figurines from Tomb 513, nos. 3, 4 (pl. XXIV). The subject of Professor Cook's figurine naturally recalls the Tiryns Chariot fresco[1] and the chariot scenes on vases from Tiryns,[2] Rhodes,[3] and Cyprus.[4]

III. *Miscellaneous.*

It may perhaps be allowable to include here the unusual object of terra-cotta from the dromos of Tomb 515, no. 16 (pl. XXVIII). This, from its associations and from its style is undoubtedly of L.H. II date. Being 0·085 m. in diameter it is too large to have been used as a button, and its flat shape suggests that it was an ornamental spindle whorl. It consists of a broad disc with a short shank on one side. The shank side of the disc and the shank itself are decorated with concentric circles. The other side of the disc has set obliquely round the perforation hole, which goes vertically through the shank, three large and one small papyrus flower in the manner of those on 'Palace Style' vases. The whorl is very well made and fired. It has a fine buff slip, and the design is boldly rendered in rich glaze paint fired to a lustrous red. It is certainly of Mainland, probably Mycenaean, manufacture, but there is no record of similar whorls found elsewhere.

H. Spindle Whorls or Buttons.

In tombs[5] and inhabited sites[6] of the Late Helladic period on the Mainland all excavators have found many small whorl-like objects of terra-cotta or steatite usually of a conical or conoid shape. These Tsountas long ago suggested might be buttons, since in one tomb at Mycenae he found one hundred and sixty,[7] but up to now the objects have as a rule been called spindle whorls. Persson accepts Tsountas's suggestion that they were used as buttons, and the evidence of those found by us in chamber tombs at Mycenae does not contradict this idea, for in Tomb 520, no. 37 (fig. 11, p. 26), were found twenty-nine, and in Tomb 523, nos. 18, 24, twenty-two. In fact the small size of the fifteen found in Tomb 513, no. 9 (pl. XXV), supports Tsountas's view, for whorls so small would hardly have been of much use. Although in the descriptions of the tombs

[1] Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii, pl. XII. [2] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XV.

[3] *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi-vii, p. 234, fig. 150.

[4] *B.M. Cat. Vases*, i. 2, nos. C 338–C 340, C 341, C 345, C 348, C 398, figs. 109–11, 112 b, 114, 115, 136.

[5] Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 174; Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, pp. 27, 29, 30, 41, 85, 90, 91; *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 291, 303, 385; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, pp. 177 (1), 188 (1).

[6] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 109; Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, p. 84, pl. XXXVI; *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 24, 27, 29, 36, 48, 54, 56, 149, 205, 218.

[7] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

and in the catalogues of the objects found the traditional name 'spindle whorl' has been retained, the name button is really preferable, since the explanation of their use proposed by Tsountas is the most probable.

Of terra-cotta whorls we found examples in Tomb 515, nos. 27 (pl. XXIX), 67, two; Tomb 517, no. 35, five (pl. XXXV); Tomb 518, no. 60*a*, four; Tomb 521, nos. 14, 15, three; Tomb 524, no. 23, one; Tomb 532, no. 20*a*, *b*, three; Tomb 533, no. 25, one.

Most of these are of a conical or conoid shape. One, Tomb 533, no. 25, is of the shanked or button type, and five, Tomb 517, no. 35, Tomb 518, no. 60*a*, have splayed bases and appear to be intermediate between the other two main types. One, Tomb 515, no. 17, is exceptional in being covered with gold leaf, even in its perforation, and closely resembles a specimen from Spata.[1] This suggests that others of these buttons were originally covered with gold leaf, and so would have been much more decorative for use on men's or women's garments, for then they would have matched the gold rosettes.[2] Three examples belong to yet another type shaped like two cones set base to base, Tomb 524, no. 23, Tomb 533, no. 20*a*, but this is not an impossible shape for a button. With the exception of those from Tombs 521, nos. 14, 15, and Tomb 524, no. 23, all of the terra-cotta whorls or buttons were found in tombs which were first used in L.H. I or II. The examples from Tomb 517, no. 35, were found in the pit definitely associated with L.H. I and II pottery, and the same applies to the gilded example from the dromos of Tomb 515, no. 27. It can therefore be concluded that the terra-cotta whorls or buttons date from L.H. I and II, and that those of steatite, as we shall see, are not earlier than L.H. III.[3] Tomb 521 and Tomb 524, which contained terra-cotta whorls or buttons, both also contained early L.H. III pottery, for instance the stirrup-vases of good Tell-el-Amarna style, Tomb 521, no. 7 (pl. XIX), and Tomb 524, no. 13 (pl. XXII).

Steatite whorls or buttons were found in many tombs, Tomb 502, nos. 4, 31, 32, four (pl. XIII); Tomb 513, no. 9, fifteen (pl. XXV); Tomb 515, no. 37, two (pl. XXIX); Tomb 516, no. 11, four; Tomb 517, no. 40, one (pl. XXXVI); Tomb 518, no. 60*b*, one; Tomb 520, no. 37*a*, *b*, *c*, twenty-nine (fig. 11, p. 26); Tomb 523, no. 18, fifteen; Tomb 524, no. 24, seven; Tomb 525, no. 15, two; Tomb 529, no. 40 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, four; Tomb 530, no. 20, three; Tomb 532, nos. 23, 24, three; Tomb 533, nos. 26, 27, 28, seven.

The two examples in Tomb 517, no. 40, were found above the pit in the chamber which contained L.H. I and II pottery.[4] Three of the four examples

[1] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 2153.
[2] See p. 195 f.
[3] See pp. 69, 85, 102.
[4] See p. 69.

from Tomb 529, no. 40 *a*, *b*, *c*, were found with the second series of interments in that tomb, and the fourth example, no. 40 *d*, was found at a high level in the chamber, and so none of these can be earlier than L.H. III.[1] The great majority of the steatite examples, seventy-two out of ninety-seven, occurred in Tombs 502, 513, 520, 523, 524, 525, which contained nothing of earlier date than L.H. III, and the remaining twenty-five all came from tombs which, though first used in L.H. I or II, continued in use through L.H. III, and as already noted in two of those tombs, Tombs 517, no. 40, Tomb 529, no. 40, they were in contexts that were clearly later than L.H. II. These steatite whorls or buttons can thus be regarded as certainly dating from Late Helladic III. This result, that the terra-cotta examples are of L.H. I and II and the steatite examples of L.H. III date, agrees with the results of the Swedish excavations at Asine and Dendra. In Crete too steatite whorls or buttons occur in L.M. III tombs.[2]

There are three main shapes of the steatite whorls or buttons: (*a*) the ordinary conical or conoid type, shaped like a cone with a circular base and a truncated top; (*b*) the shanked or button type, a vertical tube splaying out at the base into a circular disc; (*c*) a type intermediate between the other two, with a concave sinking in the under side of the base, while sides of the cone take on a concave outline. In long series like those from Tomb 513, no. 9 (pl. XXV), 520, no. 37 *a*, *b*, *c* (fig. 11, p. 26), and 523, nos. 18, 24, many varieties of these three main types can be observed, but they all help to illustrate the gradual evolution of the button or shanked type through the intermediate type from the conical or conoid type.[4] A fourth but rare type (*d*) has the shape of two cones set base to base, Tomb 515, no. 37 *b*, one (pl. XXIX), Tomb 516, no. 11 *a*, one.

Persson[5] suggests that a shanked or button type of glass bead which occurs in L.H. III tombs may be a glass button copying the corresponding shape in steatite. This is quite possible, and it is also possible that these steatite whorls or buttons, and the supposed glass imitations, may at times

[1] See pp. 100 ff.

[2] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 60; *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, p. 84. Compare *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 385; Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 143.

[3] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 89, fig. 101 (15–17); *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 607, fig. 76.

[4] The suggestion (*B.S.A.*, XXVIII, p. 286) that the conical type is derived from a 'half melon' type of bead is untenable. It fails to take into account the terra-cotta examples of E.H. (see Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 104, fig. 129, *Zygouries*, p. 190, fig. 179), M.H. (see Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 198, pl. XIX, Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 142 f., fig. 118, Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 105), and L.H. I and II.

[5] *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 105, no. 43, fig. 80; there was one example each in the Treasury of Atreus and in the Tomb of Genii at Mycenae, *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 355, fig. 75 *k*, p. 384, and they were common in the Menidi (Lolling, *Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, pl. III, 23) and Spata Tombs (*B.C.H.*, 1878, pls. XIII–XIX).

have been covered with gold leaf like the terra-cotta example from Tomb 515, no. 27. In Crete the carved steatite vases were so gilded.[1]

I. Faience, Glass, and Glass Paste.

The beads of these substances have already been discussed above.[2] There are two objects of faience which are certainly not beads, and some ornaments of glass or glass paste (frit) which, though not strictly beads, yet must presumably have belonged to necklaces or similar articles of personal adornment.

1. *Faience.*

Lid. In the lower strata of Tomb 529, no. 39 (pl. LI), were found the fragments of a lid, one or two pieces of which came from the dromos. This is apparently not Egyptian in fabric or shape. On the other hand no similar object is so far known from Crete, the Mainland, or islands such as Rhodes or Cyprus. It was presumably the lid of a faience pyxis, and since circular pyxides of wood covered with ivory[3] are not uncommon, a faience pyxis need not be regarded as impossible. In view, therefore, of the frequent occurrence of faience at Mycenae this lid may be provisionally held to be of local fabric.

Pommel. Also in the lower strata of Tomb 529, no. 31 (pl. LI), was a pommel, obviously that of a short sword or dagger. The hole in the centre would serve to attach it to the end of the tang, and the four sinkings on the top were probably originally filled with inlay, perhaps of lapis lazuli, edged with a row of granulated gold work. A similar pommel, accompanied by a hilt of the same material, was found by Tsountas in Tomb 102,[4] and he also found part of a faience side-piece from a hilt on the citadel at Mycenae.[5] These, too, were apparently once decorated with inlays. It is just possible that this pommel might have belonged to the dagger, of which a fragment was found in the same tomb, Tomb 529, no. 27 (pl. VII).

2. *Glass and Glass Paste.*[6]

Curled Leaf Ornament. Eight fragments of glass ornaments of this type were found in the pit in Tomb 515, no. 79*a*. They have been discussed above.[7]

Necklace Ornaments. No complete necklace of glass or frit was found except that with the ivy-leaf design, Tomb 520, no. 42 (fig. 12, p. 27), but one or two ornaments of various types came from five tombs, all of L.H. III date. The types are:

[1] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i, p. 676.
[2] pp. 205 ff.
[3] See p. 212.
[4] *J. H. S.*, 1904, p. 324, nos. 4908, 4914.
[5] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1887, pl. VIII, 6.
[6] In some cases it might probably be more correct to describe the material as inferior or denatured faience.
[7] See p. 192 f.

Curl hanging from short-ribbed bar. Tomb 502, no. 29*k*, yielded six specimens in glass (pl. XIII). Gold examples were found in Tomb II at Asine,[1] on the girdle of the princess in the tholos tomb at Dendra,[2] and at Mycenae.[3]

Ivy-leaf. From Tomb 520, no. 42 (fig. 12, p. 27), come fifteen complete and six broken ornaments in glass paste so designed that they interlock in a long band. A solitary broken example of a kindred but different design was found in Tomb 524, no. 30. Golden necklaces of this pattern were found in the tholos tomb at Dendra,[4] in Tomb II at Asine,[5] and in Tomb 15 at Thebes.[6]

Papyrus Flower. Four ornaments in glass paste came from Tomb 523, no. 12 (pl. XX), and it is known in gold from Tomb II at Asine,[7] and from Mycenae.[8]

Shell. Four ornaments in glass paste of a well-known type, which probably imitates a shell, were found in Tomb 520, no. 40 (fig. 12, p. 27). As stated above,[9] gold examples are known from Mycenae, Argos, Phaistos, and Knossos.

Spiral. One broken specimen in glass paste from Tomb 524, no. 33. It shows two spirals, one below the other with a raised band at the top of each. This type is a reduplication of the single curl[10] which is known in gold. Examples of it are known in glass from Tomb 2 at Dendra[11] and Tomb 4 at Thebes,[12] and in gold at Kapakle.[13]

Volute, double. One specimen in glass paste came from Tomb 521, no. 10. It is a popular ornament,[14] and is well known in gold at Mycenae, Tomb 520, no. 38[15] (fig. 12, p. 27), Argos, Tomb VII,[16] Thebes, Tomb 26,[17] and Phaistos.[18]

It will have been observed that all types of these necklace ornaments are known in gold. It can therefore be assumed that the examples in glass or frit are substitutes for the more precious golden originals. Probably, as shown by examples from the Tomb of Genii at Mycenae[19] and from Tomb 2 at Dendra,[20] the glass ornaments were usually covered with thin gold leaf so as to make a better

[1] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924-5, pl. XXXVIII, 1.
[2] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 15, fig. 12.
[3] *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 617, fig. 80.
[4] Persson, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 2.
[5] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, pl. XXXVIII, 1.
[6] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 160, fig. 119.
[7] Frödin-Persson, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, 1.
[8] *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 617, fig. 80.
[9] See p. 26.
[10] See above, p. 221.
[11] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 104, no. 34, pl. XXXV.
[12] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 133, fig. 98. It is also known at Ialyssos, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, pl. c, 10, 11, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 220, fig. 142.
[13] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1906, pl. XV, 3.
[14] It is known, for instance, at Ialyssos, *Annuario d. R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vi–vii, p. 164, fig. 92, no. 31.
[15] See p. 194; cf. the examples from Mycenae, Tomb 78, *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, p. 599, fig. 63 (= Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 219, fig. 104).
[16] *B. C. H.*, 1904, p. 388, fig. 28.
[17] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 197, fig. 142, 5.
[18] *Mon. Ant.*, xiv, pp. 598, 599, no. 15, fig. 62.
[19] *B. S. A.*, xxv, p. 380, no. 4537 *a*, *b*, p. 381, fig. 88 *o*, *p*.
[20] Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 106, no. 46.

pretence of what they were not [1] It is sometimes suggested that the use of glass or frit substitutes for gold originals implies decadence in art and decline of civilization and wealth. On the contrary, it seems more likely that with a general rise in culture and the standard of comfort and ornament there was a greater demand for such ornaments, and those who could not afford ornaments of gold had perforce to be satisfied with the next best,[2] that is with copies in glass or frit covered with gold leaf.

Plaque. A rectangular plaque of glass paste with an argonaut in relief was found in Tomb 515, no. 79 *c*. Plaques of this form and with this design are not uncommon,[3] and were probably used to decorate either the person or the dress. The type is well known in gold [4] for necklaces.

J. Stone and Shell.

1. *Stone.*

Apart from the engraved gems, already discussed above,[5] few objects of stone were found in the tombs.

Flint. In Tomb 515, nos. 23 *b* (pl. XXIX), 66, 75, were three arrow-heads of flint similar to those from Kakovatos,[6] Thorikos,[7] the Fourth Shaft Grave,[8] the Palace at Mycenae,[9] Vaphio,[10] and elsewhere. Flint of good quality practically does not occur in Greece. In Southern Greece a poor variety of chert is to be found. In Northern Greece a slightly better variety of a reddish colour is found [11] which was used in prehistoric times, but it is not common.[12] In Southern Greece obsidian, imported from Melos in all probability, is the usual material for arrow-heads and

[1] As also in the case of beads of faience or glass, see p. 206. In Tomb V at Asine was a necklace composed of beads of gold and of glass, Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924–5, p. 90.

[2] This same argument applies equally to the beads of faience or glass covered with gold leaf, see p. 206.

[3] It occurs for instance at Dendra, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 102, nos. 10, 11, pl. XXXIII, 6.

[4] For instance, Mycenae, Tomb 8, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1888, pl. IX, 4; Dendra, Tomb 2, Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra*, p. 102, nos. 10, 11, pl. XXXIII, 6; Kapakle, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1906, pl. XIV; Knossos, Tomb 7 and Chieftain's Tomb, Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 26, fig. 20, p. 58, fig. 60; *id.*, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 45, fig. 59; Phaistos, *Mon. Ant.*, XIV, p. 585, nos. 10, 11, pl. XXXIX; Argos, *B. C. H.*, 1904, pp. 383, 384, figs. 11, 13; *B.M. Cat. Jewellery*, nos. 793–4, pl. VIII.

[5] pp. 199–204.

[6] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, p. 292, pl. XV, 1–9.

[7] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1895, p. 225; Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 3681.

[8] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 113, nos. 536–40, pl. CI.

[9] *B. S. A.*, XXV, p. 224, fig. 41 *b*.

[10] Athens, Nat. Mus., no. 1846, see *Phylakopi*, p. 222 f.

[11] See the arrow-heads from Eutresis, Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 210. 211, p. 208, fig. 280. 2, 12, 13, and the implements from the same site (Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff., fig. 280) and from Lianokladi, Wace-Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 191, fig. 139.

[12] Tsountas, Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις, p. 328.

small knives. In the Late Helladic period well-made arrow-heads of flint appear, often as in the Fourth Shaft Grave together with examples of obsidian. The flint of which they are made is brown in colour and of good quality. It is in fact similar in colour and in fracture to Egyptian flint, and it is by no means improbable that in L.H. I, when the Mainland first came into contact with Egypt, flint should have been imported from the Nile Valley to Greece.

Marble. A fragment of a marble saucer was found in the pit in Tomb 515, no. 74. It is probably of local make.

Obsidian. A few arrow-heads of obsidian were found in Tomb 515, no. 23 *a* (pl. XXIX), Tomb 518, no. 52 *a*, *b*, and Tomb 533, no. 8 *b*. Obsidian from Melos[1] is the usual material for arrow-heads on the Mainland in the Early[2] and Middle Helladic[3] periods, and though flint, probably from Egypt, was introduced in the Late Helladic period, obsidian still continued in use, as shown by the arrow-heads of this material found with arrow-heads of flint in the Fourth Shaft Grave.[4]

Porphyry. In Tomb 518, no. 53,[5] was found part of the rim of a bowl of hornblende porphyry. It is typical Egyptian work of the First to Second Dynasties and may be compared with one from Knossos.[6] The discovery of this early dynastic Egyptian object in Tomb 518, which was first used in L.H. I and continued in use till the beginning of L.H. III, has two parallels. At Asine in Tomb II[7] was an Egyptian bowl of porphyry of the First to Second Dynasties, and in the Royal Tomb at Isopata[8] were two fragments of an Egyptian diorite bowl dating between the First and the Fourth Dynasties. The Isopata Tomb dates from L.M. II, the earliest vase in the Asine Tomb is of late L.H. II date, and the central date for Tomb 518 is also L.H. II. So in these three tombs of the fifteenth century B.C. were found Egyptian stone bowls of early dynastic date, many centuries older.

Several Egyptian stone bowls of predynastic or early dynastic date[9] were found at Knossos, but only one was in a stratified context.[10] Pendlebury[11] therefore wisely urges caution in the use of these Egyptian stone bowls for dating deposits. Fimmen[12] also points out the insecurity of dates based on the evidence of stone

[1] *Phylakopi*, p. 222 f.

[2] Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 199; Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 204 f., fig. 276, 4.

[3] Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 105, fig. 130, 4, 5; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1902, pp. 123 ff. (a Middle Helladic tomb); Mylonas, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς, p. 148, fig. 122.

[4] Karo, *Schachtgräber*, p. 113, nos. 536-40, pl. CI; see also Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 208; *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 224, fig. 41 *a*, p. 303 f., fig. 57, *b*, *c*, *d*.

[5] Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 57, no. 97.

[6] Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, p. 65, fig. 32; Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 21, no. 25.

[7] Frödin-Persson, *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres de Lund*, 1924-5, p. 87, pl. XXXIX; Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 65, no. 149.

[8] Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 151, no. 21, fig. 128.

[9] Reisner (*Antiquity*, V, pp. 200 ff.) thinks that their Egyptian dates should be put later between dynasties III and VI, for 'none can be dated with safety to the predynastic period or even dynasties I-II'.

[10] Pendlebury, *op. cit*, p. 21, nos. 22-8.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

[12] *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*[2], pp. 168, 174.

bowls, Egyptian or Cretan, because vessels of stone naturally have much longer lives than other objects.

In any case it is impossible to use this porphyry bowl from Tomb 518, and those from Tomb II at Asine and the Royal Tomb at Isopata to date the tombs in which they were found. Persson[1] suggests that the bowl from Asine had been brought from Crete and had been placed in the tomb with one of the earlier burials. This does not seem very probable because no other objects of the same date were found with the stone bowls. If the presence of these three bowls in the tombs was not accidental, then there are two possible explanations. The bowls may have been brought home by adventurers from Crete and the Mainland who raided Egypt and looted early dynastic tombs, or it may have been fashionable in the fifteenth century B.C. in Crete and on the Mainland to collect Egyptian antiques of this type.

In the pit in the chamber of Tomb 517, no. 38 (pl. xxxv), was a piece of porphyry, the tubular core from a boring. This can hardly have been purposely placed in the tomb, but it does prove that porphyry was worked at Mycenae.

2. *Shell.*

In Tomb 529, no. 41, were found three *conus* shells. These, as shown by the parallels quoted above,[2] are not infrequently found in L.H. chamber tombs and seem to have been used for necklaces. One of these, from Tomb 529, is peculiar in that it is filled with lead which must have been melted and poured into the shell. In Tomb 21 at Thebes[3] a leaden model of a *conus* shell was found which, as stated by Keramopoullos, was probably the lead filling of a shell which had perished. It is hard to understand, however, why a shell should have been so filled with lead, as it does not seem appropriate for a necklace. Perhaps a shell so filled was used as a weight.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 87. [2] See p. 106. [3] Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, iii, p. 183, no. 9.

APPENDIX

THE SKULLS

By

Professor Carl M. Fürst.

In the autumn of 1927 I undertook a journey to Greece to conduct an anthropological examination of the human remains discovered by the Swedish Expedition at Asine and at Dendra. I was at the same time invited by Mr. Wace to examine the human skulls and bones found in his excavations at Mycenae, and I was enabled to undertake this extra work, thanks to the ready help given by friends[1] of the British School interested in the excavations at Mycenae. Dr. C. A. Boethius, Director of the Swedish Institute at Rome, who had for two seasons taken an active part in the work at Mycenae, accompanied me. He assisted me in the Nauplia Museum where the boxes containing the skulls and bones from the tombs at Mycenae were stored. A selection of the best was made and was carefully packed and sent to my laboratory at Lund with the permission of the Greek Government, which most readily and courteously agreed to my request. There I was able to carry out at leisure the slow work of cleaning, fitting together, photographing, and measuring the skulls and bones. All the material has now been returned to Greece, and I have already published elsewhere[2] a full report with a detailed anthropological discussion on the skulls from Asine, Dendra, Mycenae, and the Argive Heraion, and still more recently a paper[3] on a Neolithic skeleton from Hageorgitika in Arcadia found by Professor Blegen.

In consequence therefore of my full publication elsewhere this appendix gives only a summary account of the material. Since, however, in my full report the numbers given to the skulls from the various tombs do not agree with those of Mr. Wace in his official report on the excavation of the tombs above, I have here given both the correct numbers of Mr. Wace's report and those of my publication, so that all students of the subject can easily refer from one to the other.

Description

The skulls I examined can be classified as follows :

Middle Helladic Period.

To this period belong two skulls from tombs found below the Ramp House within the Acropolis of Mycenae. These two tombs[4] formed part of the Middle Helladic Cemetery within which the Royal Shaft Graves were subsequently made.

[1] Mr. A. Colegate, Mr. G. Eumorfopoulos, Dr. A. Holt, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. B. Wace, and Miss M. B. Wright.

[2] *Zur Anthropologie der prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 2, Bd. 26, Nr. 8. Kungl. Fysiografiska Sällskapets Handlingar. N.F. Bd. 41, Nr. 8.

[3] *Über einen neolithischen Schädel aus Arkadien*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 2, Bd. 28, Nr. 13. Kungl. Fysiografiska Sällskapets Handlingar. N.F. Bd. 43, Nr. 13.

[4] *B. S. A.*, xxv, pp. 76 ff., fig. 17 *a*, *b*.

1 F.M. Sex, female; age, young.[1] The skull was defective, very fragile, and in many fragments. The basal bones were decayed and the left upper jaw was very defective. The mandible was well preserved. The lower part of the glabella and the frontal bone below it were missing, but the nasal bones were complete, wide and large. The skull was that of a young female of about 18 years of age. It has a determinate index of 70 and is thus certainly dolichocranic. The girl was orthognathous and had beautiful teeth. The nasal index was 48. She was almost leptorrhine and the form of the nasal bones would suggest a straight nose. The limb bones were vigorous. The proximal parts of the femora were specially well developed and exhibit the anomaly of a third trochanter. As the platymeric index figure of 65 shows, she was platymeric. The pelvis is well formed and indicates facility of child birth. This then was the skeleton of a robust young woman of about 1·58–1·60 m. (about 5 ft. 2½ in.) high, with well-formed feet, though neither they nor the hands were small. The bones of the forearms were longer on the right side than on the left.

2 F.M.[2] This skeleton was in a tomb which lay below the west wall of the basement of the Ramp House and just to the south of the entrance to it. It was not complete and was the skeleton of a child about 5 years old. The skull was broken and defective. The femora exhibit the anomaly of a third trochanter.

Late Helladic Period.

I examined twenty skulls of this period from seven tombs all on the south bank of the Kalkani Cemetery (fig. 9). In the following descriptions of them I have indicated to which of the subdivisions of the period, L.H. I, II, or III, they belong, according to the stratification of the tombs in which they were found.

Tomb 514, no. I = 5 F.M., p. 66, pl. XVI[3] from the pit in the chamber. L.H. III. Sex, female; age, adult but young. A small skull, light grey in colour, fragile and defective especially on the right side. The base, the facial bones, and the mandible are missing. All the sutures are open. The ovoid shape suggests the purse form. The maximum length is not more than 0·158 m. and breadth 0·128 m. The length-breadth index is consequently 84·2 and the skull therefore distinctly brachycranic. The minimum frontal breadth is about 0·087 m. and gives a parieto-frontal index of 68 (high metriometopy) and so a relatively broad forehead.

Tomb 514, no. II = 21 F.M., p. 75, pl. XXIV, L.H. III. Sex, probably male; age, adult but young. On a careful examination of the fragments of bones from the pits in the dromos I found there was so much of one skull that I could put together from rather more than thirty pieces a reasonably good and measurable specimen. It gives an impression of great breadth and what is left of the jaw shows a well-developed chin with prominent mental tubera. The greatest length is 0·186 m. and the greatest breadth 0·140 m. and the length-breadth index 75·3. The length-height index 73·1 shows

[1] *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 77, fig. 17 *b*; Fürst, *Anthropologie prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis*, pp. 37 ff., figs. 20–3.

[2] *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 77, fig. 17 *a*; Fürst, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[3] This and the similar references given for the following skulls are in every case to my *Zur Anthropologie der prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis* already mentioned above.

orthocrany. The breadth-height index 97·1 indicates a middle place, metriocrany with a tendency to a high skull. The parieto-frontal index 69·3 shows eurymetopy. The frontal curvature index 89·6 is a little higher than the parietal curvature index 88·7. The frontal curvature therefore is flatter than the parietal curvature, an uncommon occurrence.

Tomb 514, no. IV = 4 F.M., p. 64, pl. xv, L.H. III. Sex: male; age, adult, but not as old as Tomb 514, no. II. This is one of the best and most interesting skulls in the collection. It is of rounded ovoid shape, almost of the purse form. Some of the sutures show the beginning of synostosis. The maximum length is 0·183 m. and the maximum breadth is 0·143 m., and the length-breadth index therefore is 78·1, which shows high mesaticrany. The length-height index is 72·1 showing high orthocrany and the breadth-height index is 92·3 giving metriocrany. This figure shows that in this case the breadth of the skull is the dominating feature. The frontal curvature index 88·8 is rather a high figure and conforms rather to the usual curve of a Nordic than to that of a Mediterranean skull. The capacity of the skull is considerable, but could not be measured accurately. It is, however, not less than 1,500 c.cm.

Tomb 514, no. X = 3 F.M., p. 63, pl. xiv. L.H. III. Sex, male; age, advanced. This skull is defective and is made up of about thirty pieces joined together. The frontal and parietal bones are good, but the temporal and occipital are defective and most of the facial bones and the mandible are missing. The maximum breadth is at least 0·138 m. and the maximum length which could not be measured exactly is at least about 0·188 m. Thus the skull is markedly dolichocranic with a length-breadth index of not more than 73·4, and gives a heavier impression than an ordinary skull of the Mediterranean type. The parieto-frontal index 74·7 is high and indicates an unusually high eurymetopy, that is to say a narrow forehead. The left glenoid fossa is greatly deformed, the result of a serious pathological process of considerable duration. This has changed the articular eminence at the root of the zygoma, which is absent. The articular eminence is flattened and the bone substance altered. The deformity probably arises from a suppurative process in the mandibular joint such as an external injury might cause. The condition of the teeth seems to show that this impediment to the movement of the mandibular joint lasted a long time. There was complete synostosis of the sutures.

Tomb 516, no. I = 7 F.M., p. 66, pl. xvii. L.H. I. Sex, female; age, adult, but young. The skull is very defective. All the sutures are open. The length is 0·176 m., the breadth approximately 0·142 m., and the length-breadth index 80·7. The skull is clearly brachycranic. Behind the bregma and on both sides of it there is a depression which might perhaps have been caused by the wearing of a band on the head.

Tomb 516, no. V = 6 F.M., p. 66. L.H. II–III. Sex, male; age, adult. This skull was made up of a number of pieces, and the facial bones, the base, and the mandible were missing. The skull is certainly dolichocranic since the length-breadth index was not higher than 74. The parieto-frontal index is about 68 and shows eurymetopy. Calculations based on the length of the humerus gave a stature of 1·64 m. (about 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.).

Tomb 517, no. VIII or IX = 8 F.M., p. 67, pl. xviii. L.H. II–III. Sex, female;

age, adult. This is a light, thin and large, but distinctly female skull which must have belonged to a robust woman. The base, facial bones, and mandible are missing. The middle part of the sagittal and the lateral part of the coronal suture show almost complete synostosis and all the endocranial sutures complete synostosis. The greatest length is 0·176 m. and the greatest breadth is 0·139 m. Thus the length-breadth index 79 gives a high mesocrany, but nevertheless the skull is not brachycranic in character.

Tomb 519, no. VI = 9 F.M., p. 67, pl. XIX. L.H. III. Sex, male; age, old. There is complete synostosis of all the sutures. The skull is 0·190 m. long and is 0·139 m. broad. The length-breadth index 73·2 shows that it is dolichocranic.

Tomb 525, no. V a = 10 F.M., p. 68. L.H. III. Sex, male; age, adult. The bones, which are unusually white, suggest a large skull with a broad forehead. There is synostosis of the medial part of the coronal suture. The bones are thick and the relief of the squama suggests that they belonged to a powerful and muscular man. The nasion-bregma length is 0·10 m. and the curvature of that bone is 0·116 m. The frontal curvature index is 86·2.

Tomb 525, no. V b = 11 F.M., p. 68. L.H. III. Sex, male; age, advanced. This is a thin, silicated fragment of the frontal bone. The forehead is much longer than that of no. V a from the same tomb. The nasion-bregma length is 0·124 m. and the curvature of the bone is 0·148 m. Thus the forehead was more curved than that of no. V a from this same tomb, Tomb 525.

Tomb 526, no. I = 12 F.M., p. 69, pl. XX. L.H. III, early. Sex, female; age, adult. The skull had been badly crushed and is very defective. It is a heavy, well-formed skull and the parietal bones are unusually thick for a female skull. All the sutures are open. The forehead is broad. The maximum length is at least 0·188 m. and the approximate breadth is 0·139 m. The length-breadth index is about 74 or perhaps a little less, and the skull is thus distinctly dolichocranic. The minimum breadth of the forehead is 0·097 m. and the maximum is 0·115 m. The parieto-frontal index is about 69·8 indicating eurymetopy and the frontal-breadth index 84·4. The first figures indicate a broad forehead and the others a rounded form.

Tomb 529, no. II = 18 F.M., p. 74, pl. XXIII. L.H. I–II. Sex, female; age, adult. The skull is incomplete, being put together from some twenty fragments, but is a useful specimen for study. The bones are thick, especially the frontal bone. The maximum length is at least 0·178 m. and the breadth 0·131, and the skull is thus decidedly dolichocranic with a length-breadth index of about 74.

Tomb 529, no. III = 17 F.M., p. 73, figs. 30, 31. L.H. I–II. Sex, probably female; age, young. The skull was badly crushed and the bones much decayed. It well illustrates the damage which skulls are liable to suffer in tombs in Greece and how difficult it is for excavators to extract them so that they can be preserved as useful research material for anthropologists.

Tomb 529, no. V = 20 F.M., p. 74. L.H. II. Sex, probably male; age, young. There were only a few fragments of this skull, which was a small one. The maximum breadth is 0·120 m.

Tomb 529, no. VII = 16 F.M., p. 72. L.H. III, early. Sex, male; age, adult. This skull also was badly crushed, and the facial bones and the base are missing. The

skull is dolichocranic with a length-breadth index of about 75. The frontal bone is 0·118 m. long and the frontal curvature 0·128 m. The frontal curvature index is then about 92·5 and indicates a sloping forehead.

Tomb 529, no. VIII = 19 F.M., p. 74. L.H. III, early. Sex, male; age, adult. The skull is very defective and the bones much decayed, breaking easily into flakes. The sutures are to some extent almost synostosized. The minimum frontal breadth is about 0·088 m., the posterior is about 0·103 m. These give a frontal index of about 85·4. The frontal curvature index is about 86·9.

Tomb 529, no. XIII = 15 F.M., p. 72, pl. XXII. L.H. III, late. Sex, male; age, adult. This was in fragments, but it proved possible to join them together into a relatively good, though defective skull. The base, most of the right parietal bone, and the mandible are missing. The frontal suture is persistent and the other sutures are also open. The skull is not large. Its length is 0·174 m. and its breadth 0·129 m. The length-breadth index is 74·1 and the skull is thus dolichocranic. The minimum frontal length 0·095 is large for such a small skull and the parieto-frontal index 73·6 points to a comparatively broad forehead. The frontal-breadth index 80·5 is small and is in keeping with the large anterior frontal breadth.

Tomb 529, no. XIV = 14 F.M., p. 69 f., fig. 29, pl. XXI. L.H. III, late. Sex, male; age, adult, advanced. Although the mandible is missing, this is one of the best preserved skulls. Synostosis is present only in the lateral part of the coronal suture and in the obelion region of the sagittal suture. Only a few stumps of much worn teeth remain and hardly any alveolar processes are to be seen, which indicates alveolar pyorrhea. The skull is ovoid and rather asymmetrical. The maximum length is 0·187 m. and the breadth 0·140 m., giving a length-breadth index of 74·9, which indicates dolichocrany. The minimum frontal breadth is 0·093 m. and the parieto-frontal index is 66·4. This shows a metriometopic skull with a tendency to stenometopy. The frontal-breadth index is 80·9, showing a forehead of fine globular shape. Of the rest of the skeleton the right femur was well preserved. Its maximum length is 0·43 m., or in a natural position at least 0·425 m. The trochanter length in a natural position is at least 0·405 m. These would give a stature of 1·61 m. (about 5 ft. 3 in.).

Tomb 529, no. XV = 13 F.M., p. 69. L.H. III, late. Sex, male; age, young. Of this skull only fragments were left. The bones split into flakes and could not be joined together. The posterior frontal breadth is about 0·120 m. The occipital bone suggests a strong and muscular person. The unworn teeth point to youth.

Commentary

Middle Helladic Period.

As stated two of the skulls described above came from graves below the Ramp House at Mycenae and belong to the Middle Helladic period. The remaining twenty came from the Kalkani Cemetery and are of the Late Helladic period.

Hitherto few Middle Helladic skulls from the Peloponnese have been the subject of scientific anthropological investigation. Consequently these two skulls from the Ramp House are most interesting, though it is unfortunate that they both belonged to such young people, one five and the other eighteen years old. The former certainly did

not belong to a brachycranic person and probably did belong to a vigorous race. The latter was decidedly dolichocranic and belonged to a fairly tall young woman with a robust frame, a large pelvis, well-shaped though not small feet, and well-developed brow ridges and occipital tuber, more than is usually found in the Mediterranean race. She resembles, so far as I can judge, a woman of the Nordic rather than of the Mediterranean race. Can she have belonged to an earlier race of the Greek mainland? Can she have had any kinship with the race represented by one of the Asine M.H. skulls?[1] I dare not express an opinion on these points. Still I do not think it impossible that there was in Greece an early population unconnected with the Mediterranean race, which latter came from the South and East, and here one must remark that this M.H. skull is the only prehistoric skull from Greece which resembles in certain respects the Neolithic skull from Arcadia.[2]

The Middle Helladic skulls from the Swedish excavations at Asine which I have studied are, like all other ancient Greek skulls, in equally bad condition. They were fifteen in number, and as I have published elsewhere[3] a detailed account of them, I need only mention that they present a variety of shapes, dolichocranic, brachycranic, and Armenoid, analogies to which do not appear to be lacking in Crete. One might imagine from this that Asine was a Cretan colony or port on the Gulf of Argos.[4]

Late Helladic Period.

Of the skulls from the Kalkani Cemetery one Tomb 516, no. I, belongs definitely to Late Helladic I, three Tomb 529, nos. II, III, V, belong to Late Helladic I or II, two Tomb 516, no. V, Tomb 517, no. VIII or IX, belong to Late Helladic II or III, three Tomb 526, no. I, Tomb 529, nos. VII, VIII, belong to the early part of Late Helladic III, three Tomb 529, XIII, XIV, XV, belong to the later part of Late Helladic III, and the remaining seven belong generally to Late Helladic III, Tomb 514, nos. I, II, IV, X, Tomb 519, no. VI, Tomb 525, nos. V a, V b. In view of the small number of skulls it is impossible to determine whether or no any new racial element came to Mycenae during the Late Helladic period, but it will be seen from the tables of measurements

[1] Fürst, *Anthropologie prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis*, p. 16, no. 4 F.A.

[2] Fürst, *Über einen neolithischen Schädel aus Arkadien*, p. 11 f. Duckworth has published a male neolithic skull from Tsangli in Thessaly (*Man*, 1911, no. 35, p. 49), which is mesaticranic and has a length-breadth index of 76·9.

[3] Fürst, *Anthropologie prähistorischen Griechen in Argolis*, pp. 12 ff.

[4] Similarity of skull types need not necessarily imply that Asine was a Cretan colony, but only that there was a racial affinity between the population of Asine and that of Crete. In the Middle Helladic period there was little archaeological connexion between the Mainland and Crete. Archaeologically the Early Helladic people of the Mainland were akin to the Early Minoan people of Crete and the Early Cycladic people of the islands, and the view that at the beginning of the Bronze Age the E.H. people arrived in the Mainland by way of the islands is widely accepted by archaeologists (*Cambridge Ancient History*, I, pp. 603 ff., *B.S.A.*, xxii, p. 180; Blegen, *A.J.A.*, xxxii, pp. 149 ff.; Persson, *Asine*, pp. 169 ff.; Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, ii, p. xxvi; *Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies* [1], p. 247). Descendants of the E.H. people would certainly have existed in M.H. times at Asine, which was a flourishing E.H. town (Persson, *Asine*, pp. 87 ff.), and so a racial affinity between the population of Asine in M.H. times and the Cretans, as well as a similarity of skull types, can be easily explained without the necessity for assuming a hypothetical Cretan colony at Asine. A. J. B. W.

that all the skulls from Tomb 529 which date from L.H. I to late in L.H. III of which the length-breadth index could be calculated have the same index 74. This may be due to chance, but it does not contradict the view that this tomb and the others are family tombs.[1]

In order to obtain a general view of the skulls I shall group together the anthropological figures of the length-breadth index. It should be noted that each cranial index is denoted with both the cranial measurements compared in the index on which the index figure is based and that the denominator is always the first word and the numerator the second. We thus have not fronto-parietal, but parieto-frontal index just as we have length-breadth index.

The number of skulls in the length-breadth index is

Index Figure	73	74	75	78	79	80	84
Number of Skulls	4	4	1	1	1	1	1

Thus of the thirteen skulls which could be used eight are dolichocranic, three mesaticranic, and two brachycranic. These index figures are calculated in some cases from approximate measurements only, still even though the measurements may not be absolutely correct they are very nearly correct, and the skulls can certainly be considered as being placed in their right groups. When the number of skulls available for scientific examination is as small as in this case statistical calculations with averages and percentages are of little value. Still the figures in the tables of measurements suggest ideas which may not be altogether worthless. It will be at once observed that eight of the thirteen skulls fall into only two index numbers, 73 and 74. There is only one with the index figure 75, none with 76 or 77, but then follows a series with one skull each with 78, 79, 80, and 84. This naturally suggests the possibility that we may have here two separate racial groups. Caution forbids us, however, to draw any far-reaching conclusions from the indications of the length-breadth index. I shall return later to the special position of the skull with the index figure 84.

Professor Koumares of Athens has published[2] with a table of measurements eleven Late Helladic skulls from Mycenae. Of nine of these he was able to calculate the length-breadth index. Three of them came from Tsountas's excavations in 1889 and had length-breadth index figures of 73·9, 77, and 77·8. On grouping Koumares's nine figures with mine we obtain the following table:

Index Figures	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	83	84
	1	7	4	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1

Although the gaps in the series have been partially filled it is clear that after 74 the curve runs sharply downwards, and from 75 to 80 there comes a more diffuse group with the two detached figures 83 and 84. Thus the addition of Koumares's figures does not alter the idea presented by the figures in our own series. Consequently one does not feel inclined to abandon the view that the difference between the Mycenae skulls indicates at least two different races, about the identity of which I will not, for the

[1] See above, pp. 102 f., 137 ff.

[2] Ἰωάννης Κούμαρης, Κρανία προϊστορικὰ ἠπειρωτικῆς Ἑλλάδος, Ἀνακοινώσεις ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνθρωπολογικοῦ Μουσείου τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου, ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1916, σ. 3–19.

moment, make any conjecture. The fact that there is a resemblance between two of the mesaticranic skulls and two of the dolichocranic skulls suggests a racial affinity between them. The 'king' from Dendra had a mesaticranic skull (76)[1] and of the two L.H. skulls from Asine one was dolichocranic and one was brachycranic.[2] A better idea of the distribution of length-breadth index figures and of the measurements of the Late Helladic skulls generally will easily be obtained by reference to the tables published in my book.[3]

Skull no. 1 from Tomb 514 deserves special notice as being markedly brachycranic. It belonged to a small and young woman and has plainly no racial connexion with the other skulls. Though one of the Asine skulls can be called Armenoid,[4] this skull cannot be so called. We have here to do with a female cranium which exhibits a more boldly curved forehead. Moreover, the back of the head is not so steep. In any case it is clear that this is not closely related to the other Mycenae skulls, and it is perhaps noteworthy that this young woman was buried in the chamber of a tomb alone in a pit carefully roofed with stone slabs. The other female skulls, in spite of the difference to be observed in their length-breadth index figures, are strikingly similar in the *norma lateralis*, and so whether dolichocranic or mesaticranic can be taken as belonging to the Mediterranean race.

The male skulls from the Kalkani Cemetery give an impression quite different from that given by the female skulls. They are generally of a stronger and heavier type than is usually associated with the Mediterranean race, and perhaps represent a higher class of the people, though some of them show an intermixture of other races. One skull no. XIV from Tomb 529 has certain characteristics, a decided alveolar prognathic form and a marked dolichocrany, which suggest the possibility, with all reserve, of negroid connexions. As regards five of the male skulls, Tomb 514, nos. IV, X, Tomb 519, no. VI, Tomb 529, nos. XIII, XIV, one can only say that no one of them shows a decided Mediterranean type. Skull II from Tomb 514 is the one of the male skulls which comes nearest to the Mediterranean type. The shapes of the female skulls and the brachycranic length-breadth index figures in two of them suggest that the members of the upper class buried in these tombs had connexions with the South and East and took wives thence also.

The tombs of the Kalkani Cemetery with their contents represent a period of about four hundred years. Since the skulls belong to different generations within this period, then if the members of the upper classes buried in these tombs came from the north, one could conjecture that marriages between men from the north and women of other races had resulted in the production of mixed types, which would naturally also be observed on an examination of the skulls. From the Late Helladic skulls available for scientific examination from the Kalkani Cemetery I cannot prove that the bulk of the people buried there belonged to a Nordic race, but I can, however, say that there is no anthropological objection to this idea, so long as it is archaeologically possible.

[1] Fürst, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 92 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 28 ff., no. 20 F.A., pp. 53 ff.

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The Tombs at Mycenae excavated by us will be found indexed as 'Tomb 502', &c., and those excavated by Tsountas as 'Mycenae, Tomb 2', &c.

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VASES: TOMB 516, NO. 4, L. H. I; TOMB 518, NO. 39, L. H. I; TOMB 529, NO. 5, L. H. II; TOMB 533, NO. 7, L. H. I–II

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VASES: TOMB 518, NO. 1, L. H. I; NO. 2, L. H. II

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VASES: TOMB 518, NO. 31, L. H. I; TOMB 529, NO. 2, L. H. II

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15 7

VASES: TOMB 518, NO. 15; TOMB 529, NO. 7; L. H. II

(scale 1 : 2)

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3 8

VASES: TOMB 530, NO. 3; TOMB 532, NO. 8; L. H. II
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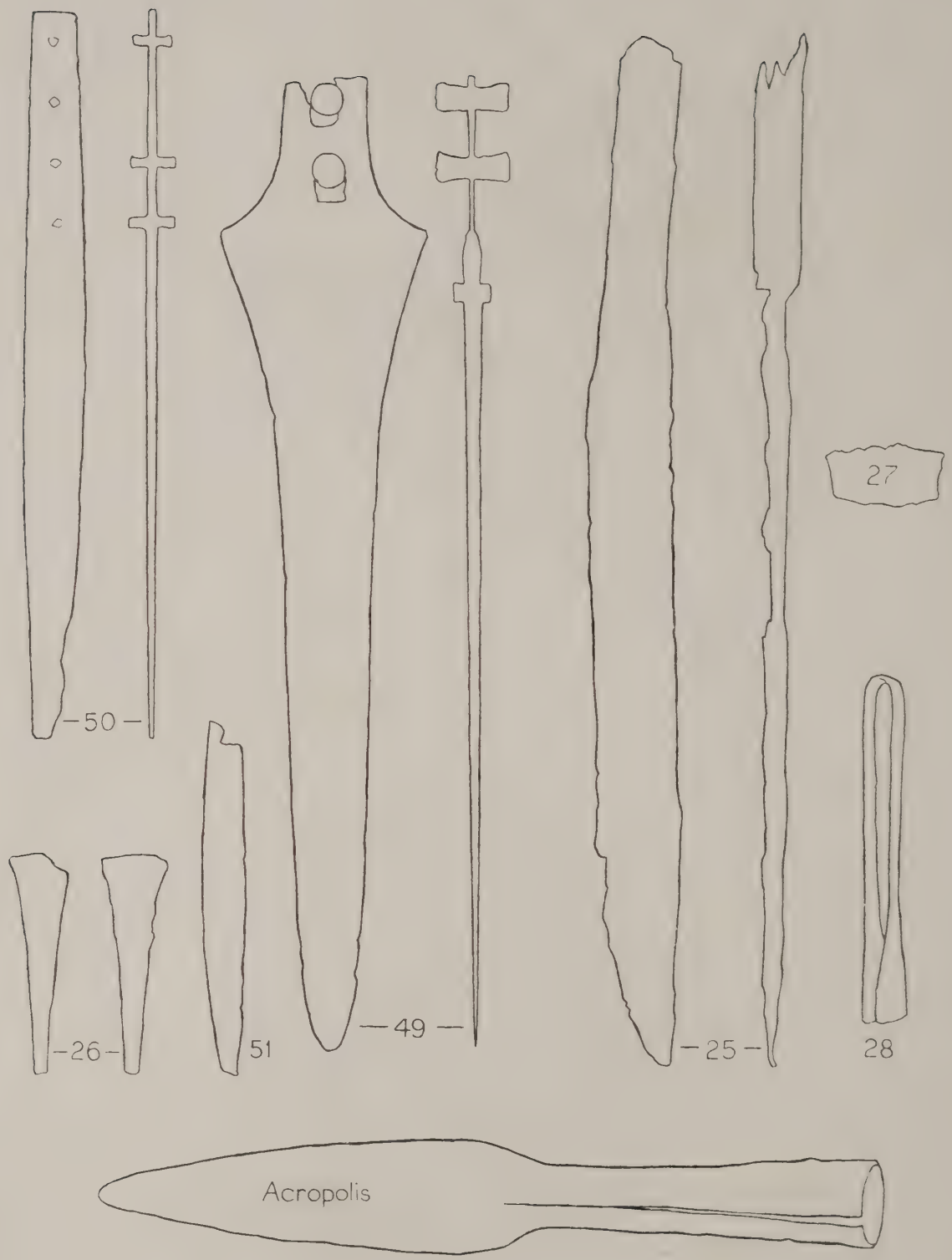
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Acropolis

BRONZES: TOMB 518, NOS. 49–51; TOMB 529, NOS. 25–28; MYCENAE, ACROPOLIS; L. H. II
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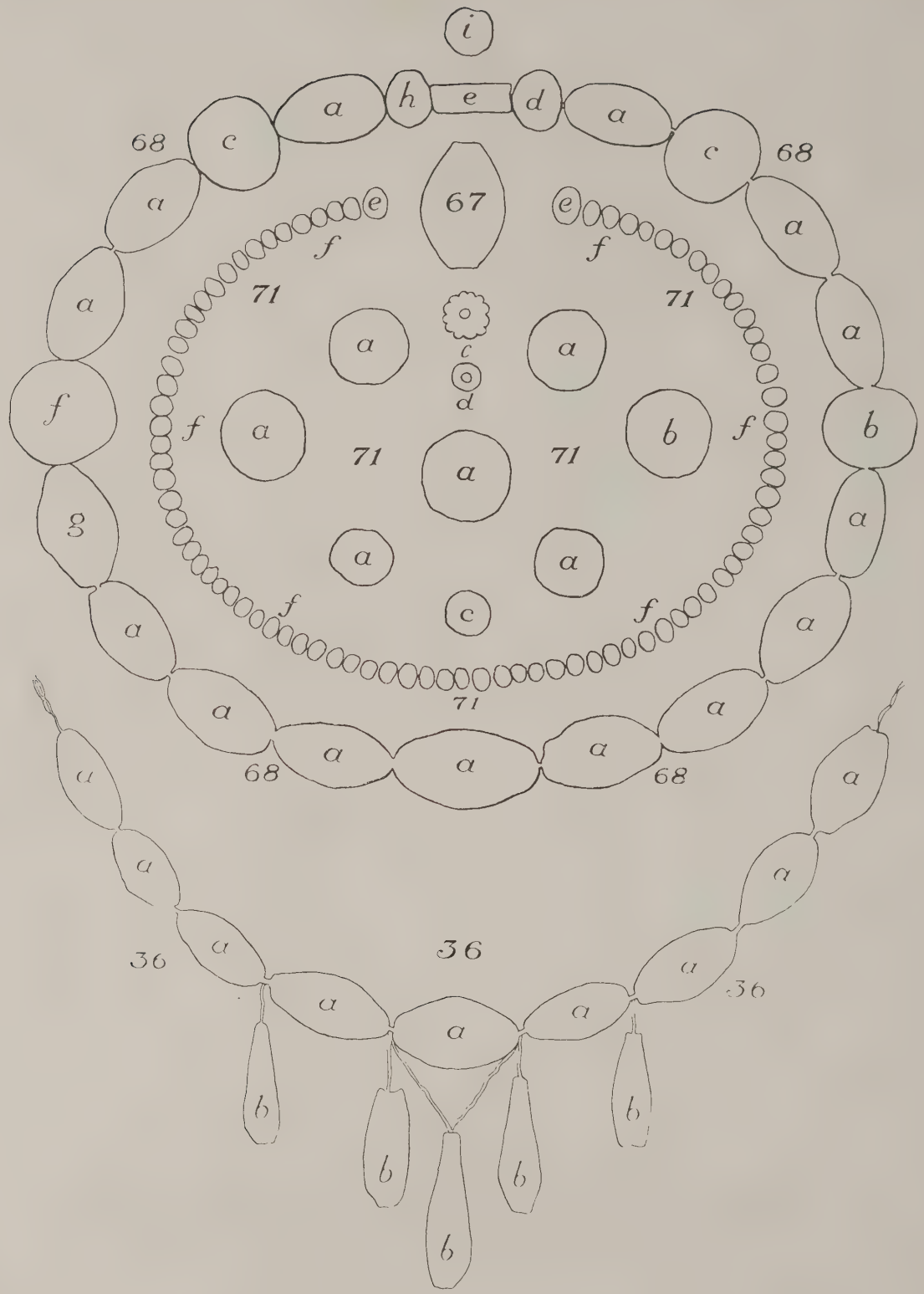
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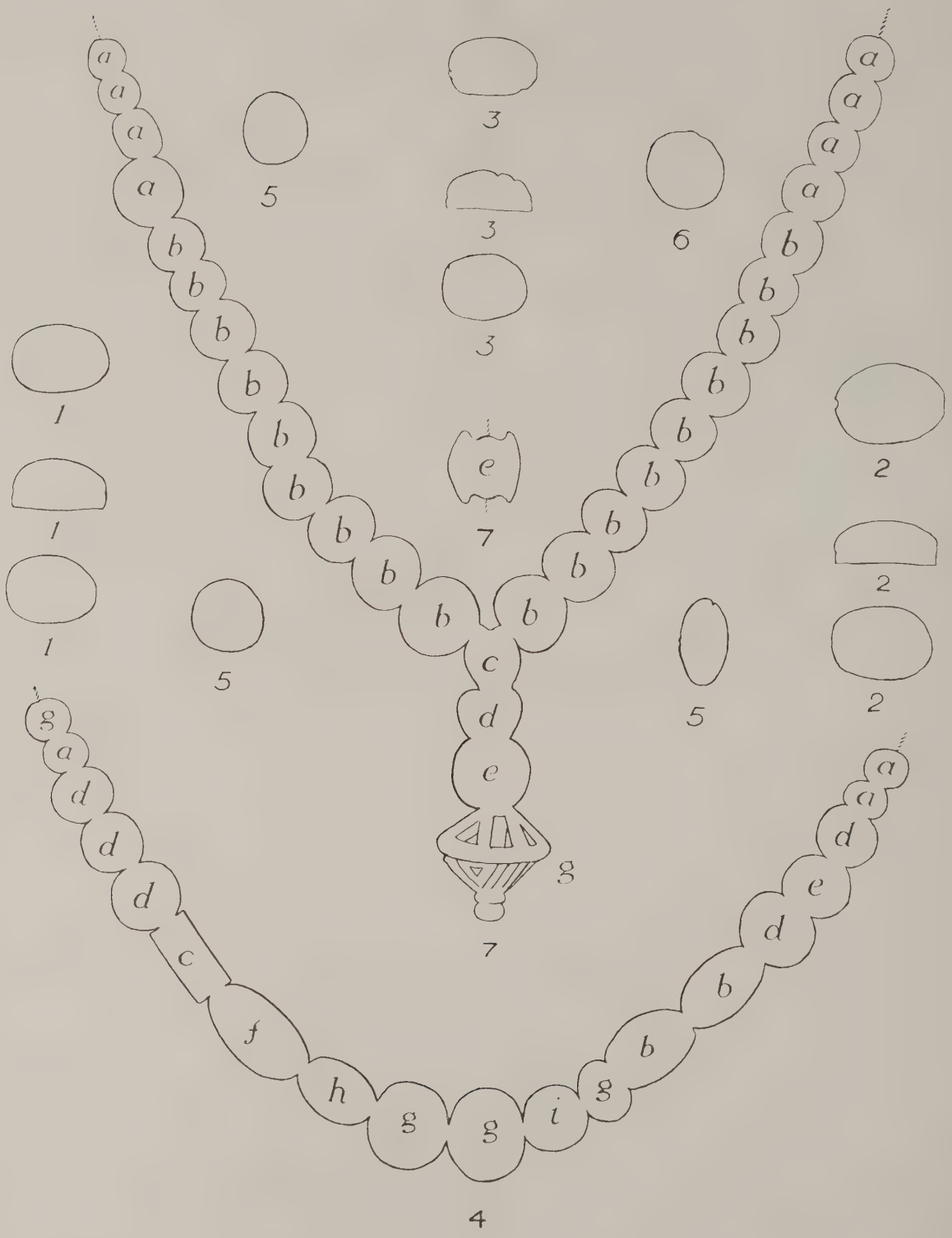
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TOMB 502: DROMOS WITH DOOR OF CHAMBER BEFORE REMOVAL OF BLOCKING WALL; L. H. III

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(scale 1 : 3)

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(scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 502: VASES, GRANARY CLASS, NOS. 6–12; NO. 27; L. H. III

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Tomb 502: Vases, Granary Class, no. 5; nos. 13–15, 24, 26; L. H. III

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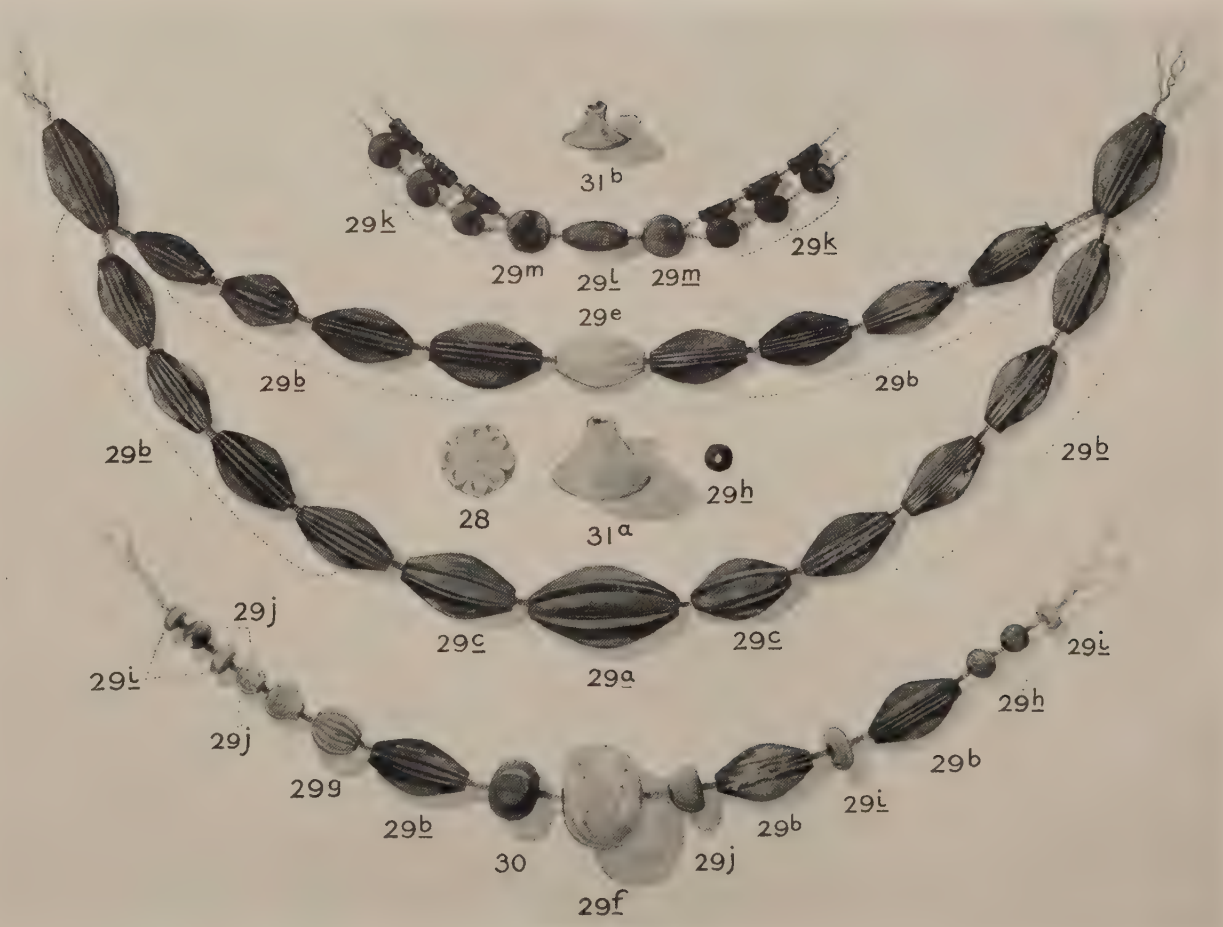

TOMB 502: GOLD ROSETTE, NO. 28; GLASS, NO. 29, BEADS, *a–j*, *l*, *m*, ORNAMENTS, *k*; AMETHYST BEAD, NO. 30; AND STEATITE WHORLS, NO. 31; L. H. III

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TOMB 504: DROMOS WITH DOOR OF CHAMBER BEFORE AND AFTER REMOVAL OF BLOCKING WALL; L. H. III

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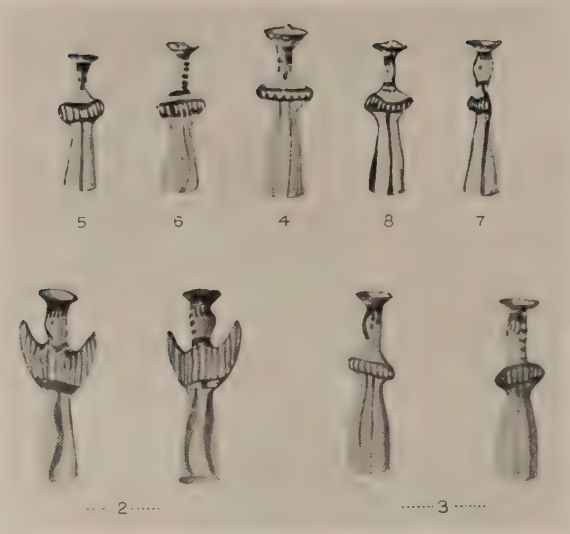

TOMB 504: TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES, NOS. 2–8; L. H. III
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TOMB 505: DROMOS, EAST END AGAINST MODERN ROAD

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TOMB 505: VASES AND FRAGMENTS; L. H. III (scale 1 : 4)

TOMB 520: VASES, NOS. 7, 14, 27, 28, 31; L. H. III (scale 1 : 4)

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TOMB 520: VASES, NOS. 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 29; L. H. III

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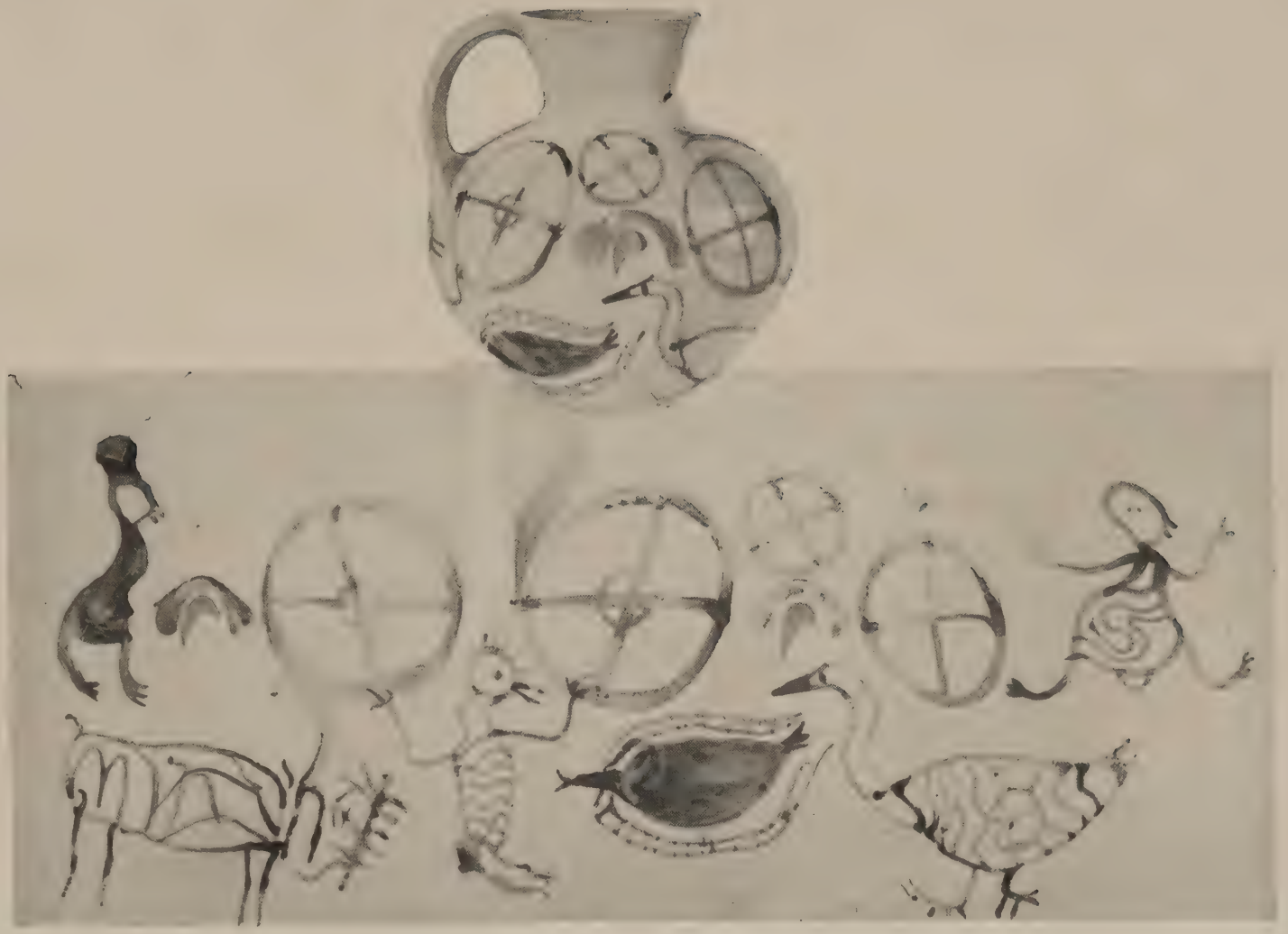

TOMB 521: VASE, NO. 5; WITH FLAT DRAWING OF DESIGN; L. H. III
(scale 2 : 3)

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TOMB 521: VASES, NOS. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8; AND TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE, NO. 9; L. H. III

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TOMB 523: VASES, NOS. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6; L. H. III

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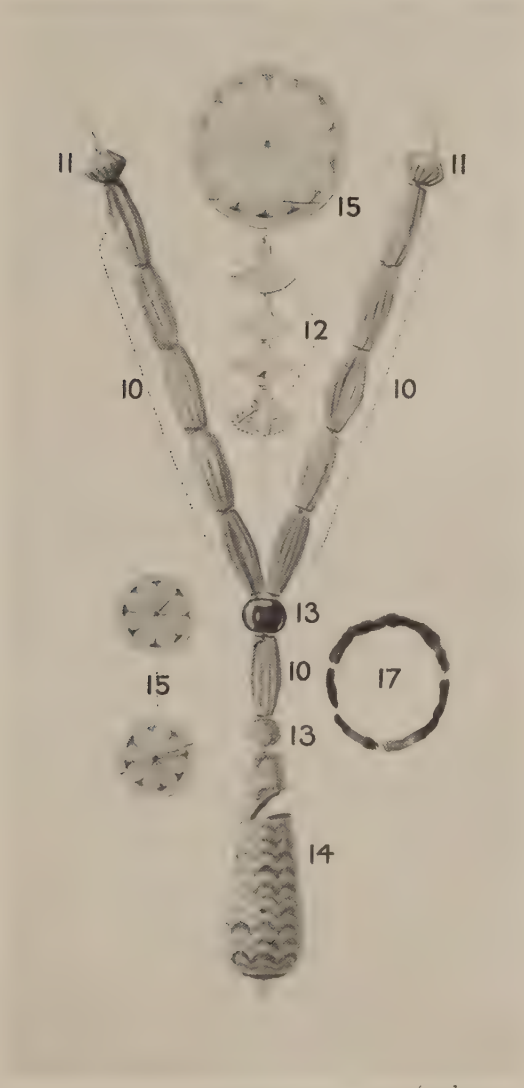
2
(scale 1 : 6)



10–15, 17 (scale 9 : 10)

7*a*
(scale about 1 : 3)

TOMB 523: VASES, NOS. 2, 7*a*; IMPRESSIONS OF SEALSTONES, NOS. 9, 16; PASTE BEADS, NO. 10; GLASS BEADS, NOS. 11, 13, 14; PASTE ORNAMENTS, NO. 12; IVORY ROSETTES, NO. 15; AND BRONZE RING, NO. 17; L. H. III.
MYCENAE, ACROPOLIS: IMPRESSION OF SEALSTONE, *a*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

TOMB 524: CHAMBER, SOUTH PIT AND SHALLOW HOLLOW

TOMB 524: CHAMBER, GREEK WALL ABOVE FALLEN ROOF AND SOUTH PIT

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

15 9 12 7

14 4 1 (scale 1 : 3)

8 13 5 (scale 1 : 3)

25 *e* 25 *a* 27 26 *a*

25 *d* 25 *b* 25 *c* 26 *b* (scale 1 : 3)

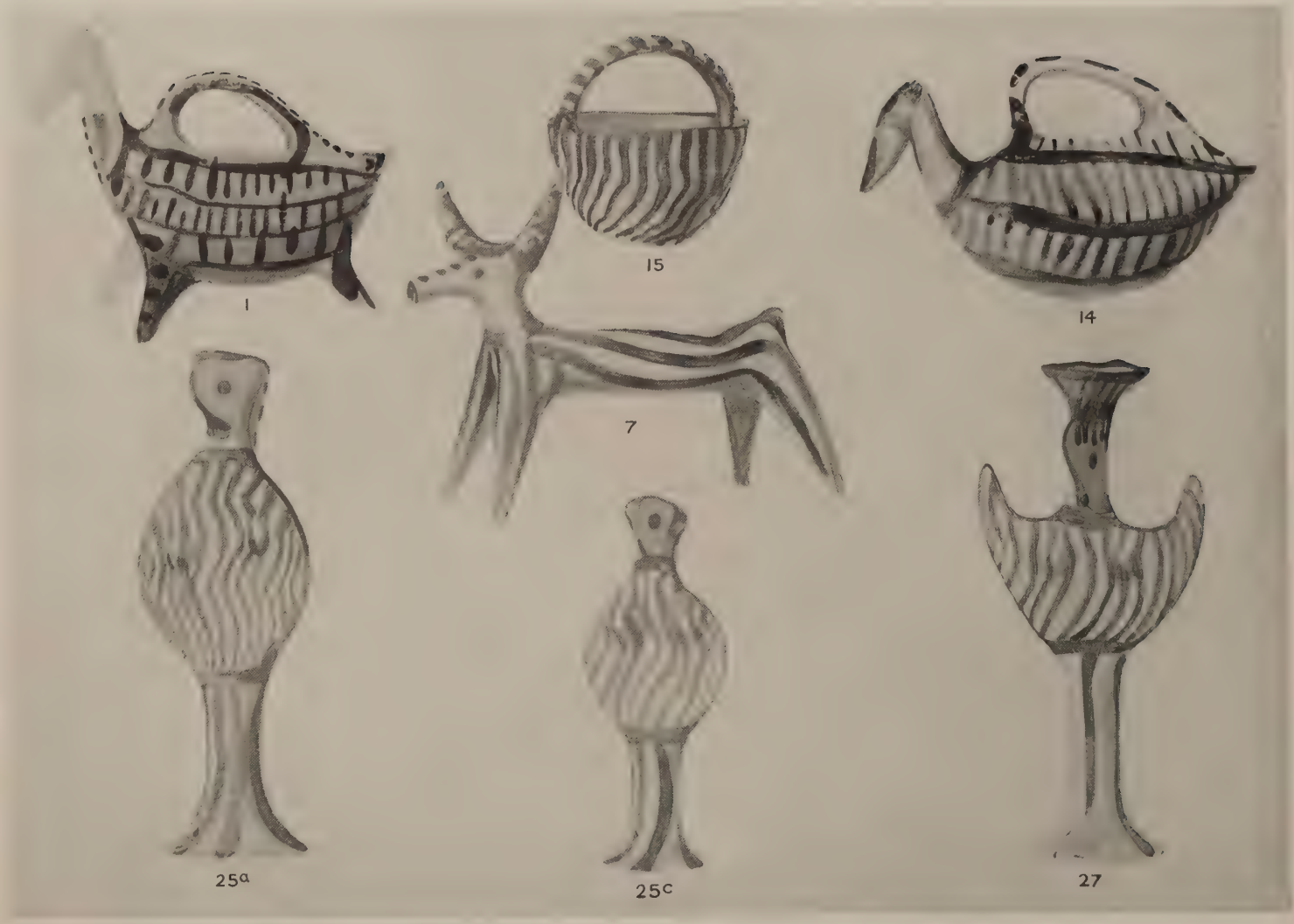
10

20

19 21 (scale 1 : 4)

TOMB 524: VASES, NOS. 1, 4, 5, 7–10; GRANARY CLASS, NO. 12; NOS. 13–15, 19–21; AND TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES, NOS. 25 *a–e*, 26 *a, b*, 27; L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



TOMB 524: VASES, NOS. 1, 14, 15; AND TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES, NOS. 25*a*, 25*c*, 27; L. H. III
TOMB 527: TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE, NO. 7; L. H. III

(scale 2 : 3)

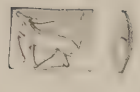
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

Tomb 513: Dromos with Hellenistic Kiln

Tomb 513: Terra-cotta Figurines, nos. 3, 4; L. H. III
Terra-cotta Figurine in the collection of Professor A. B. Cook, *a*; L. H. III
(scale 1 : 2)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

(scale 9 : 10)



7
(scale 1 : 1)

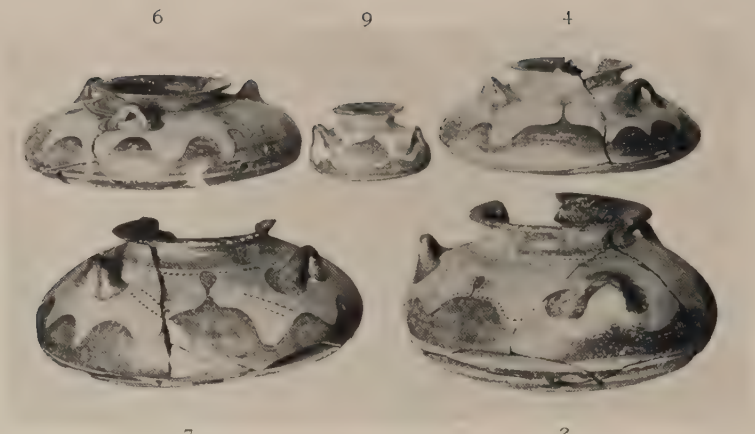
2 (scale 3 : 4)

TOMB 513: VASE, NO. 2; IVORY ROSETTES, NO. 5; GLASS BEADS, NO. 6; SEALSTONE, NO. 7; GOLD RING, NO. 8; AND STEATITE WHORLS, NO. 9; L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

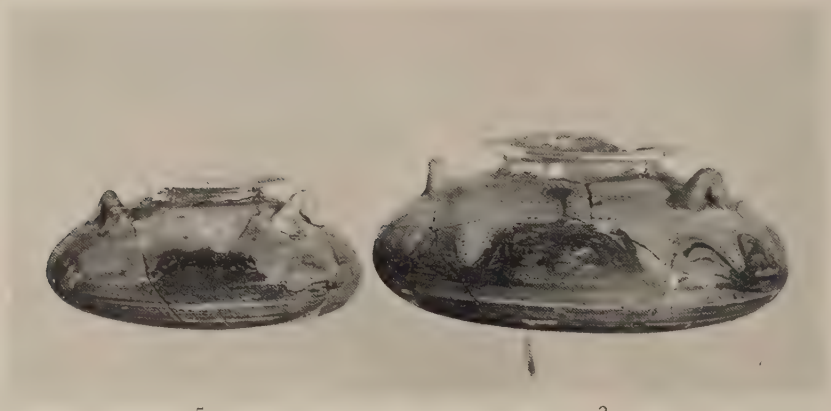
TOMB 514: CHAMBER, ROOFED PIT ON LEFT AND HEAP OF BONES ON RIGHT

TOMB 514: CHAMBER, HEAP OF BONES AND SKULLS AGAINST SOUTH WALL



6 9 4

7 2



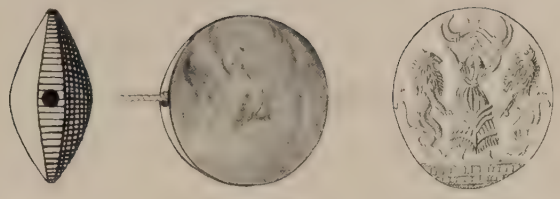
5 3

10 8

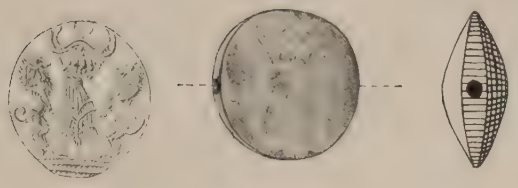
11

13 12

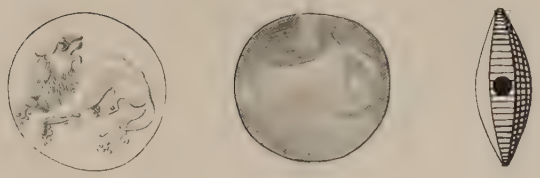
TOMB 515: VASES, NOS. 2–10, L. H. II; NOS. 12, 13, L. H. II–III; NO. 11, L. H. III
(scale 1 : 4)



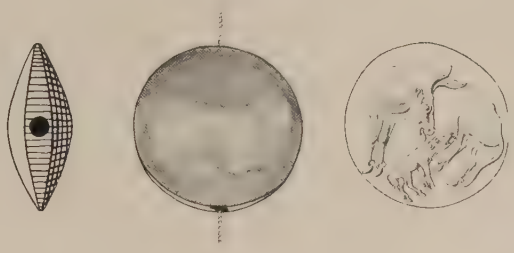
31 (scale 1 : 1)



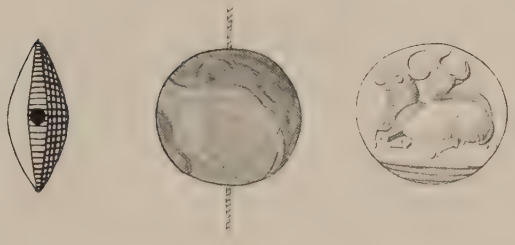
32 (scale 1 : 1)



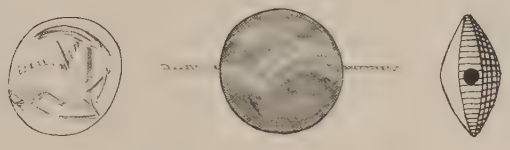
33 (scale 1 : 1)



34 (scale 1 : 1)



35 (scale 1 : 1)



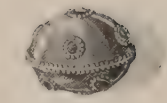
36 (scale 1 : 1)

16 (scale 2 : 3)

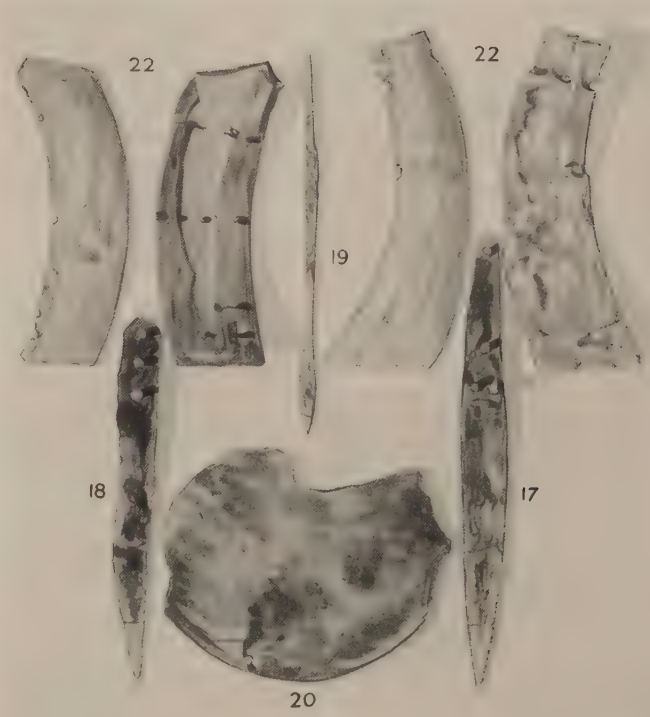
1 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 515: VASE, NO. 1; WHORL, NO. 16; AND SEALSTONES, NOS. 31–36; L. H. II

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



(scale 1 : 1)
(Restored Drawing)

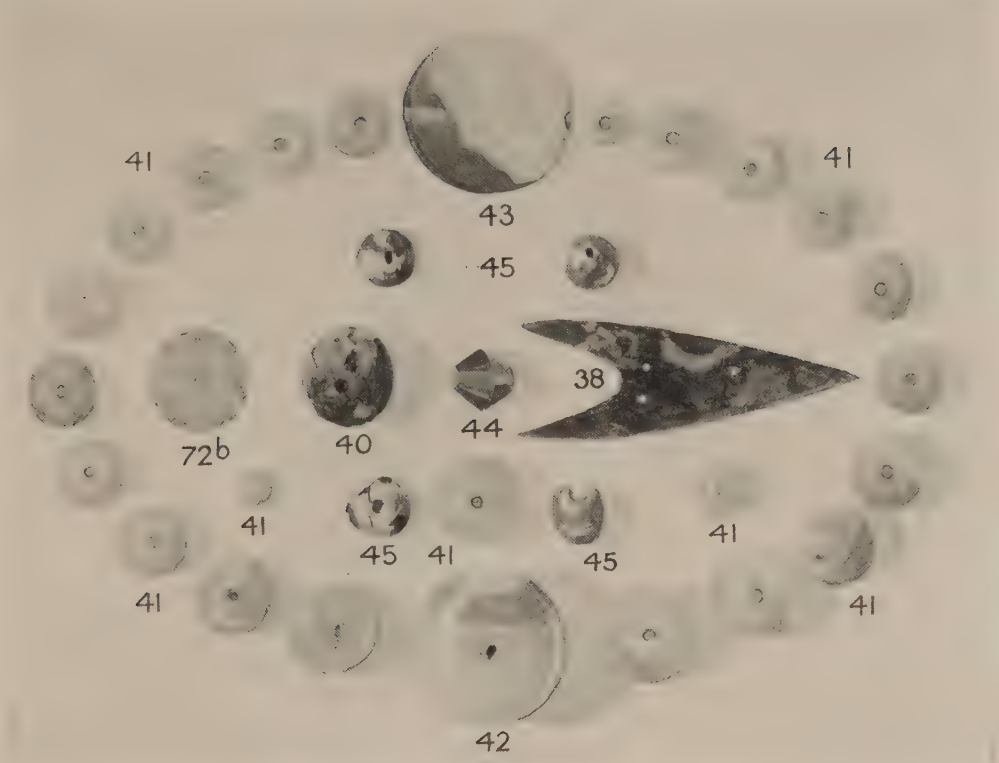


(scale 9 : 10)

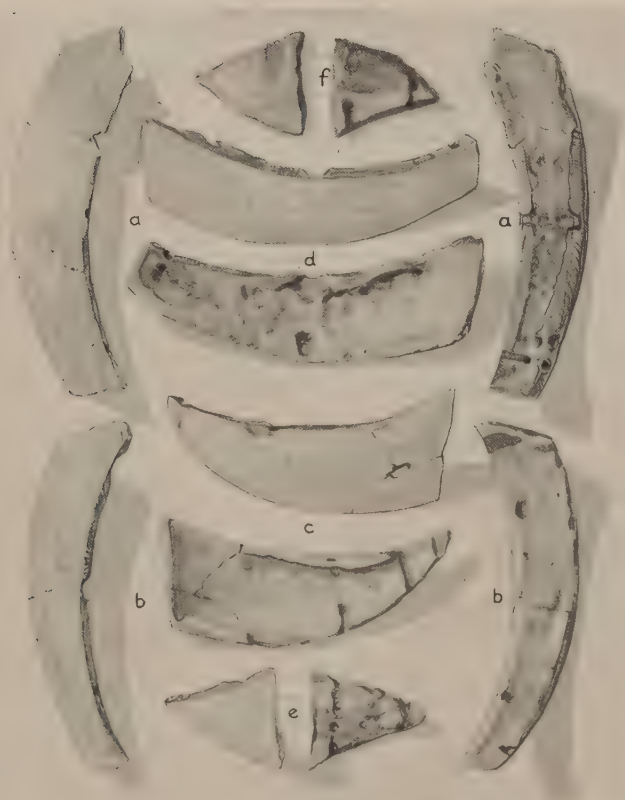
(scale 2 : 3)

TOMB 515: BRONZE KNIVES, NOS. 17, 18; BRONZE AWL, NO. 19; BRONZE SCALE PAN, NO. 20; BOAR'S TUSKS, NO. 22; ARROW-HEADS, NO. 23; GOLD BEAD, NO. 24; GOLD STUD, NO. 25; TERRA-COTTA WHORL, NO. 27; AMBER BEADS, NO. 28; AMETHYST BEADS, NO. 29*b*; L. H. II; AND STEATITE WHORLS, NO. 37, L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



(scale 9 : 10)

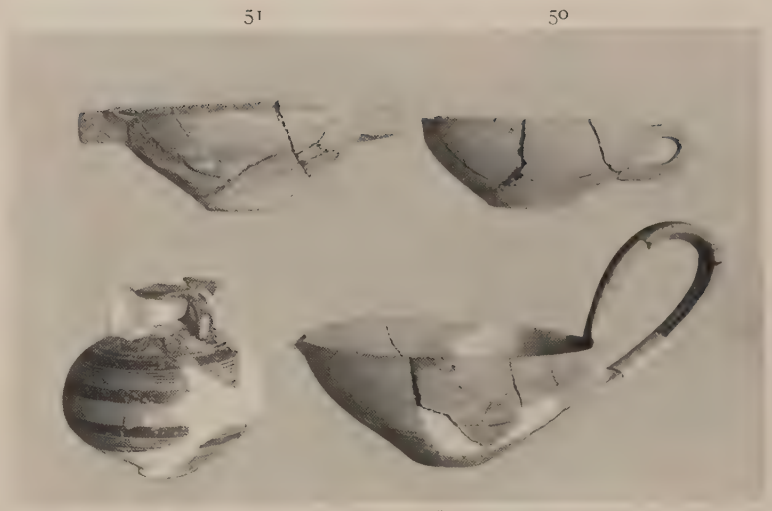


46 (scale 2 : 3)

TOMB 515: BRONZE ARROW-HEAD, NO. 38; BRONZE BEAD, NO. 40; AMETHYST BEADS, NO. 41; ONYX BEADS, NOS. 42, 43; CARNELIAN BEAD, NO. 44; GLASS BEADS, NO. 45; BOAR'S TUSKS, NO. 46; AND GOLD ROSETTE, NO. 72 *b*; L. H. II

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

48 52 49



51 50

47 14

60 59

53 54

15 55 61

57 58 56

TOMB 515: VASES, NOS. 14, 15, 47–53; AND GRANARY CLASS, NOS. 54–61; L. H. III (scale 1 : 3)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

TOMB 515: GOLD: ROSETTES, NOS. 72*b*, 80*c*; STRIP, NO. 80*a*; NECKLACE ORNAMENTS, NO. 80*d*; AND BEADS, NOS. 80*e*,*f*; L. H. II

(scale 1 : 1)

(1 514)

VASES: TOMB 513, NOS. 1, 2; TOMB 514, NO. 1; AND TOMB 516, NOS. 7–9; L.H. III (scale 1 : 3)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

TOMB 516: VASES, NOS. 1–3; L. H. I (scale 1 : 2)

TOMB 517: VASES, NOS. 9, 10, 12, 13; L. H. I

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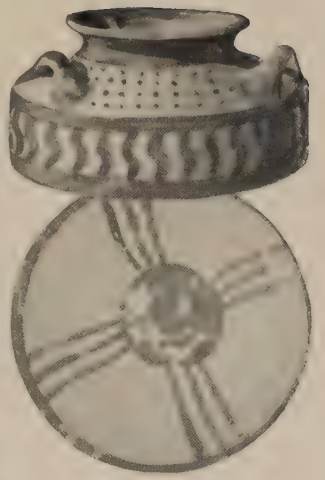
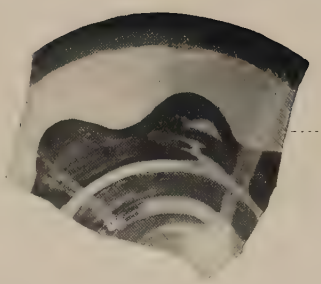
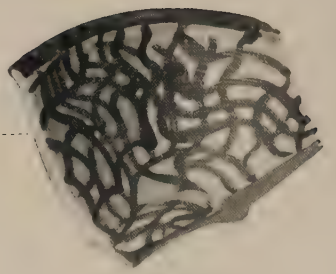
20 (scale 1 : 3)



14 (scale 2 : 3)



11



19

15 (scale 2 : 3)

18 21

41 49 (scale 1 : 3)

17 16 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 517: VASES, NOS. 11, 14–17, L. H. I; NO. 20, L. H. I–II; NOS. 18, 19, 21, L. H. II; NO. 41, GRANARY CLASS, NO. 49, L. H. III

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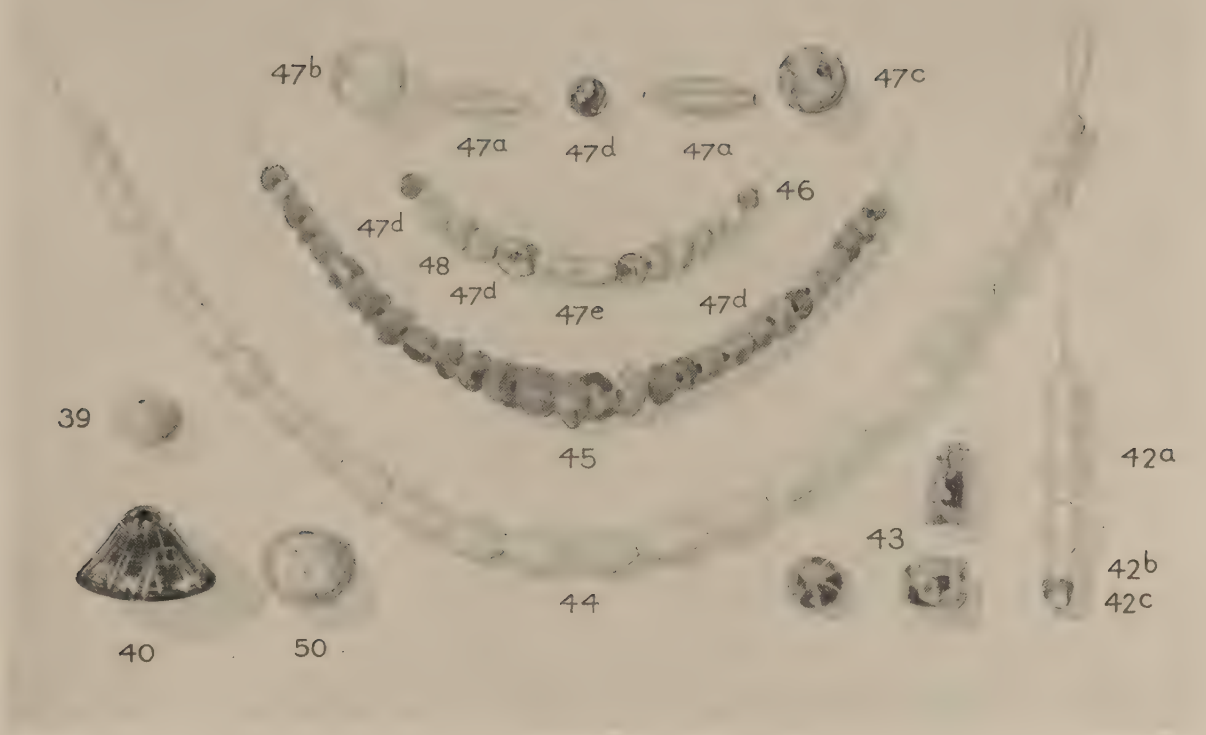
TOMB 517: FAIENCE CYLINDER, NO. 32; FAIENCE BEADS, NO. 33; GLASS BEADS, NO. 34; TERRA-COTTA WHORLS, NO. 35; BOAR'S TUSKS, NO. 36; STONE BEADS, NO. 37; AND PORPHYRY BORING, NO. 38; L. H. I–II (scale 9 : 10)



TOMB 517: AMETHYST BEAD, NO. 39; STEATITE WHORL, NO. 40; STONE BEADS, NO. 42; AMBER BEADS, NO. 43; CRYSTAL BEADS, NO. 44; CARNELIAN BEADS, NO. 45; GOLD BEAD, NO. 46; GLASS BEADS, NO. 47; FAIENCE BEAD, NO 48; AND GLASS BEAD, NO. 50; L. H. III (scale 9 : 10)

TOMB 518: CHAMBER, BENCH ON EAST WITH LAMP, NO. 46; AS FOUND

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

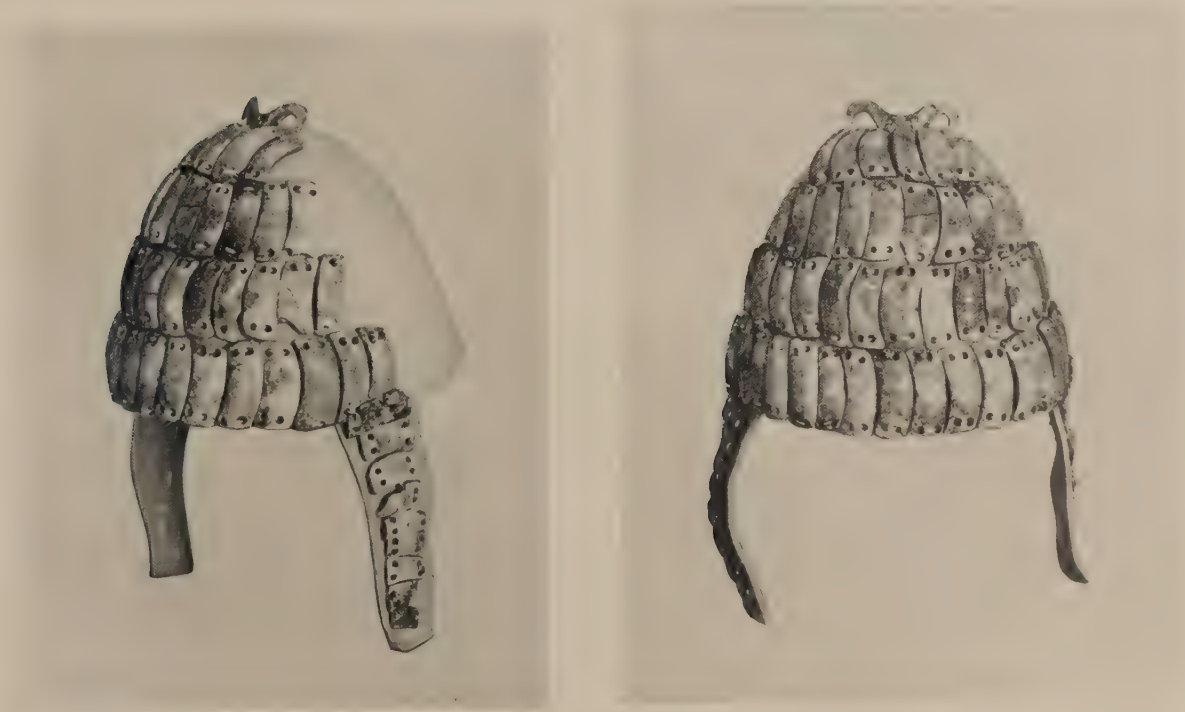
Tomb 518: Chamber, Skeleton, no. X; as found

15 (base) 15 (handle) 47 15 (top) 7

Tomb 518: Chamber, South-West Corner, and Alcove, Skeleton, no. VII; Vases, nos. 7 and 15; and Lamp, no. 47; as found

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

TOMB 518: SEALSTONES, NOS. 61-66; AND GOLD JEWELLERY, NOS. 74-77; L. H. II
(scale 1 : 1)



TOMB 518: BOAR'S TUSKS, NO. 59, RECONSTRUCTED AS HELMET PROTECTION ON A MODERN FELT BACKING; L. H. I (scale 1 : 4)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

3

4

19

30

TOMB 518: VASES, NOS. 4, 19, L. H. I; NOS. 3, 30, L. H. II

(scale 1 : 3)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

20

18

17

28

Tomb 518: Vases, nos. 17, 20, L. H. I; no. 18, L. H. II; no. 28, L. H. II–III

(scale 2 : 3)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

16 (scale 1 : 4)

37 (scale 1 : 2)

36 (scale 1 2)

33 (scale 1 : 2)

35 (scale 1 : 2)

TOMB 518 : VASES, NOS. 33, 36, 37, L. H. I ; NO. 35, L. H. I–II ; NO. 16, L. H. II

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

44

8 7 (scale 1 : 3)

9 5 (scale 1 : 4)

6 42 (scale 1 : 3)

10 11 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 518: VASES, NOS. 6, 7, 9, L. H. I; NO. 8, L. H. I–II; NOS. 5, 10, 11, 44, L. H. II; NO. 42, L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

47

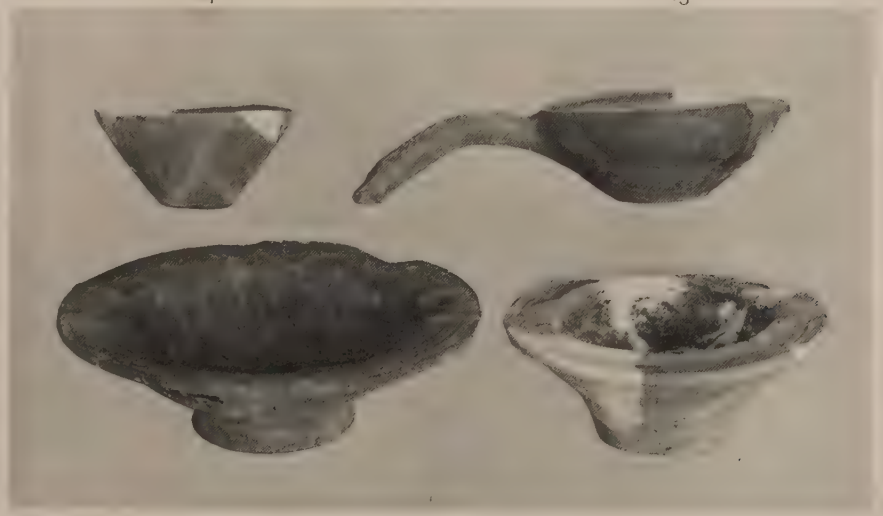
(scale 1 : 3)

46

14 13

12 43 (scale 1 : 3)

21 24



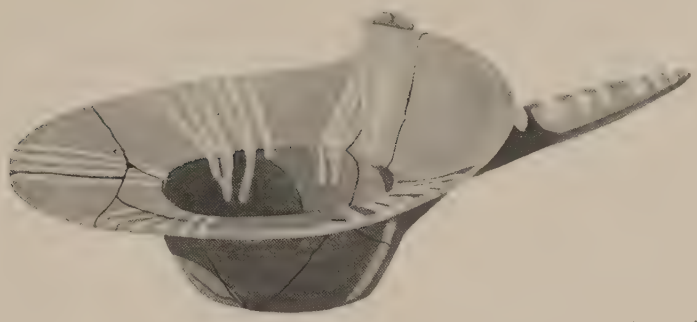
46 48 (scale 1 : 4)

26 27 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 518: VASES, NOS. 14, 21, 26, L. H. II; NOS. 12, 13, 24, 27, L. H. II–III; NO. 43, L. H. III; AND LAMPS, NOS. 46 48, L. H. II

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

41 (scale 2 : 3)



45 (scale 1 : 2)

Tomb 518: Vases, no. 45, L. H. I; no. 41, L. H. I–II

10 9 5 8

2 1 3

Tomb 519: Vases, nos. 1–3; and Terra-cotta Figurines, nos. 5, 8, 9, 10; L. H. III
(scale 1 : 3)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

13 8 12

1 (scale 1 : 4)

6 7 (scale 1 : 3)

5 4 3 2

(scale 1 : 3)

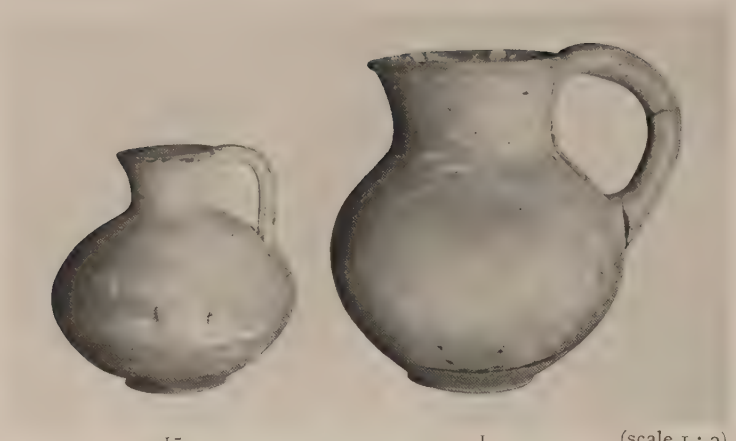
TOMB 525: VASES, NOS. 1–8; AND TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES, NOS. 12, 13; L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

Tomb 526: Dromos and Door of Chamber with Blocking Wall, L. H. III

Tomb 527: Skeletons, nos. II–V, with Funeral Offerings at the Entrance to the Dromos from the North

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



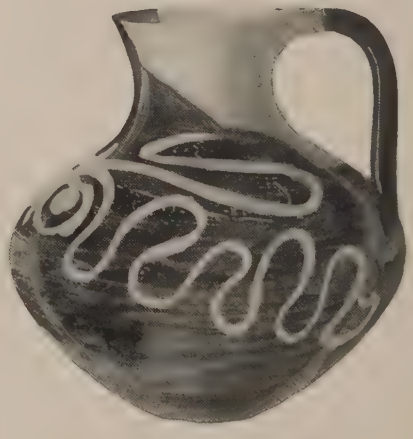
15 1 (scale 1 : 3)

17 18 16

9 (scale 2 : 3)

19 14 13 (scale 1 : 3)

6 7 4



5 (scale 2 : 3)

8

2 3 5 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 527: VASES, NOS. 1–6, 9, 13–17; AND TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES, NOS. 7, 8, 18, 19; L. H. III

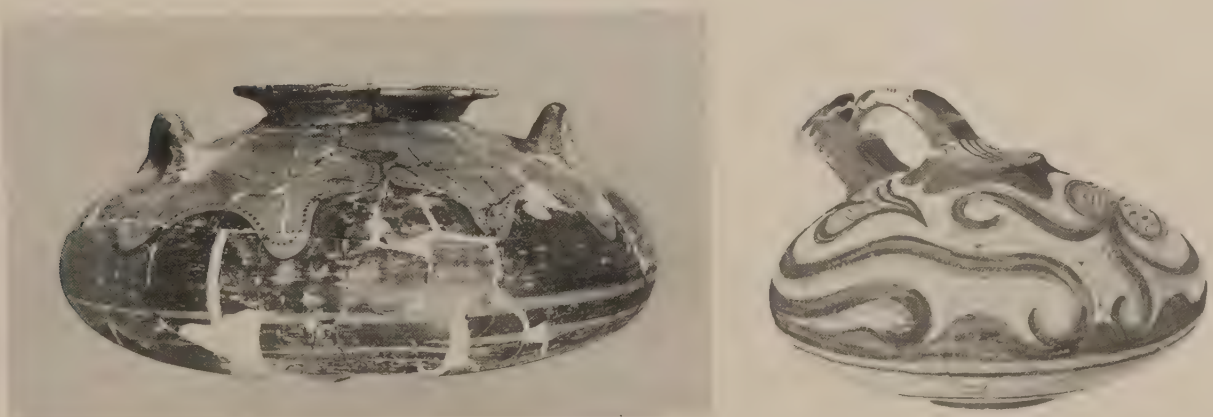
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

12 11 10

TOMB 527: VASES, NOS. 10–12; L. H. III (scale 1 : 3)

8 (scale 1 : 3) 9 (scale 1 : 3)

10 (scale 1 : 2)



12 (scale 1 : 3) 4 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 529: VASES, NOS. 4, 8–10, 12; L. H. II

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

Tomb 529: Dromos with Niche and Door of Chamber with Blocking Wall; L. H. I–II

Tomb 529: Dromos, Steps and Niche at Entrance

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

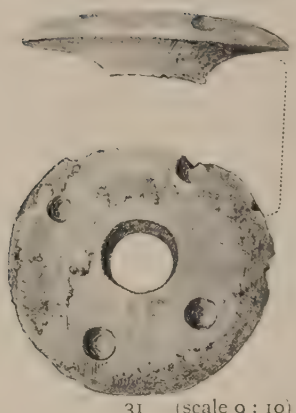
(scale 1 : 4)

(scale 3 : 4)

TOMB 529: VASE, NO. 21; WITH DETAIL OF LIP AND NECK; L. H. II

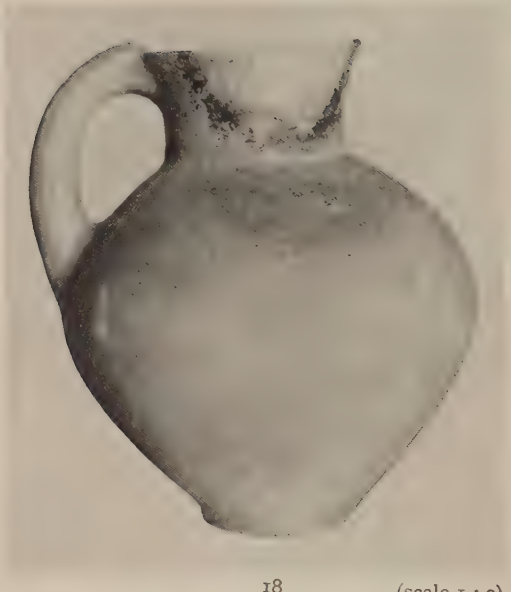
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

39 (scale 1 : 3)



31 (scale 9 : 10)

16 17 14



18 (scale 1 : 3)

15 13 (scale 1 : 3)

20 19 (scale 1 : 3)

3 (scale 1 : 2)

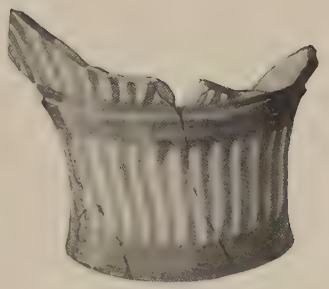
TOMB 529: VASES, NO. 3, L. H. II; NOS. 13–20, L. H. III; AND FAIENCE POMMEL, NO. 31, FAIENCE LID, NO. 39, L. H. II

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

10 12 (scale 1 : 3)

13 11 (scale 1 : 3)

9 (scale 1 : 3)

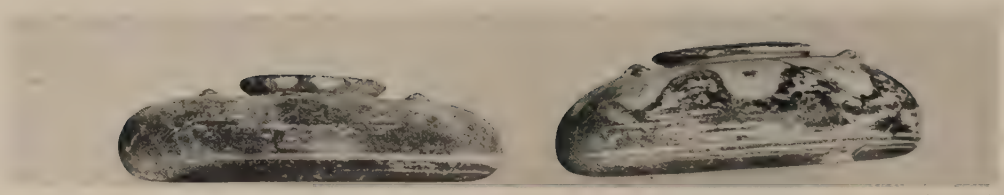


2 (scale 2 : 3)

6 14 15 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 530: VASES, NO. 2, L. H. I–II; NOS. 6, 9-15, L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932



8 7 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 530: VASES, NOS. 7, 8; L. H. III

3 6 (scale 1 : 3)

1 (scale 2 : 3)

14 9 (scale 1 : 3)

TOMB 532: VASES, NOS. 1, 3, 6, L. H. II; NOS. 9, 14, L. H. III

2 (scale 1 : 2)

7 (scale 1 : 2)

13 (scale 1 : 3)

12 16

10 11 (scale 1 : 3)

Tomb 532: Vases, nos. 2, 7, 13, 16, L. H. II; nos. 10–12, L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

TOMB 532: CHAMBER, PIT WITH SKELETONS, NOS. I–IV, XIV; AND VASES, NOS. 3, 4, 5; L. H. II

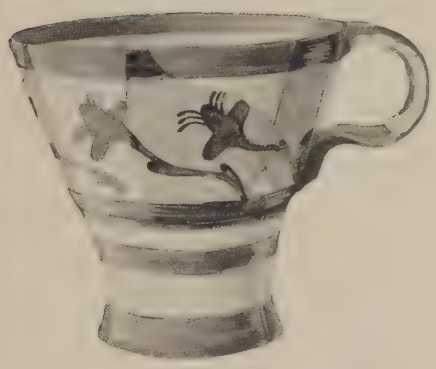
TOMB 533: VASES, NOS. 17 AND 18; L. H. III

(scale 1 : 4)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

H. 2 H. 3 H. 4 (scale 1 : 3)

H. 1 (scale 1 : 6)



1 (scale 1 : 2)
(Restored Drawing)

19 (scale 1 : 4)

2 (scale 1 : 2)
(Restored Drawing)

TOMB 533: VASES, NOS. H. 1-H. 4, VIITH CENT.; NO. 2, L. H. I-II; NO. 1, L. H. II; NO. 19, L. H. III

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1932

TOMB 533: VASES, NO. 11, L. H. II–III; NOS. 10, 13, 15, 16, 21, 22, L. H. III (scale 1 : 4)

IMPRESSIONS OF SEALSTONES: *a*, CASSEL, FROM MENIDI TOMB; *b*, RHODES, FROM IALYSSOS; *c*, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD, FROM DICTAEAN CAVE (scale 1 : 1). SOCKETED BASE FOR DOUBLE AXE: *d*, MYCENAE, ACROPOLIS (scale about 1 : 5)